

The Beaver

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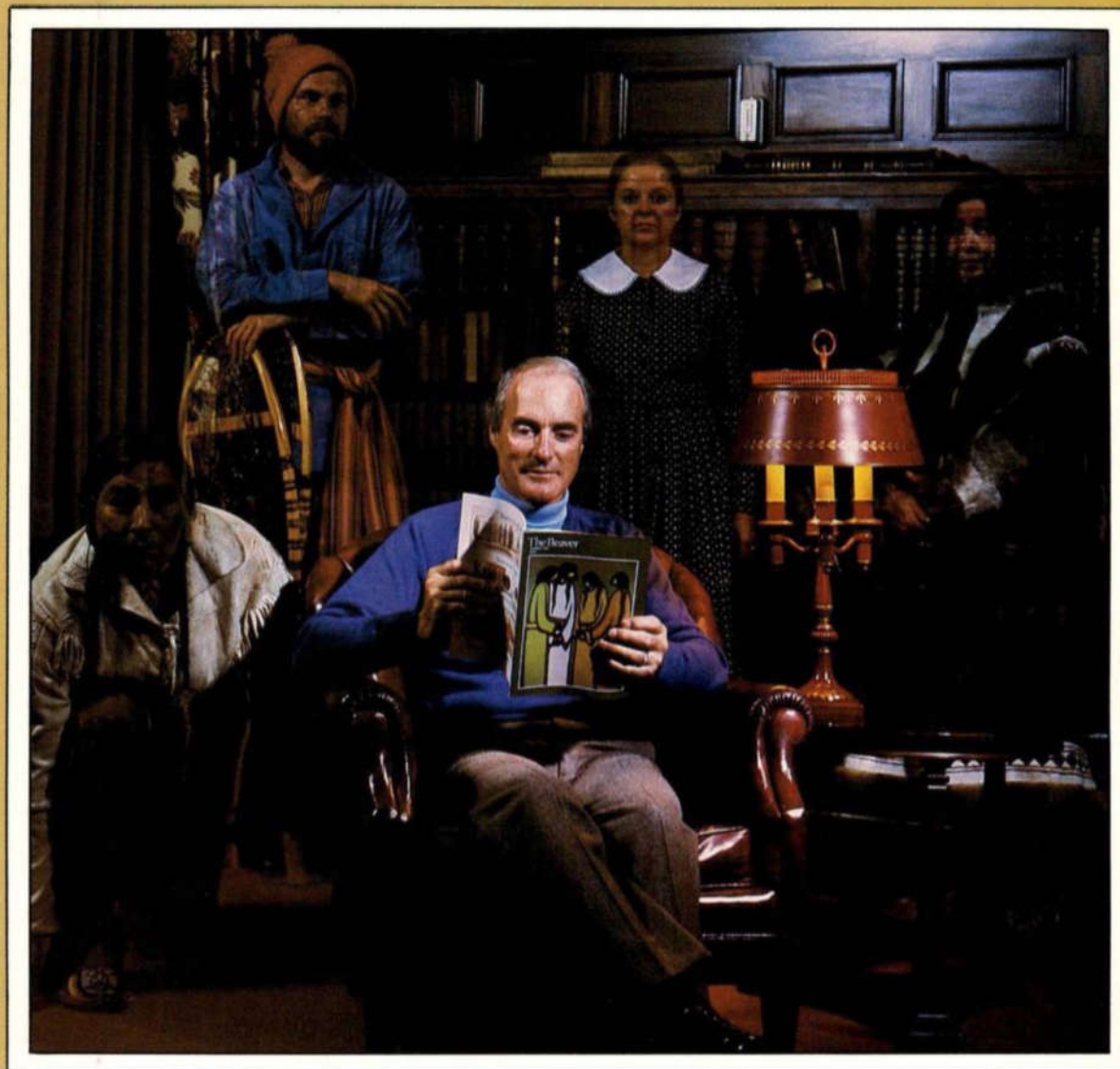


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MAGAZINE OF THE NORTH

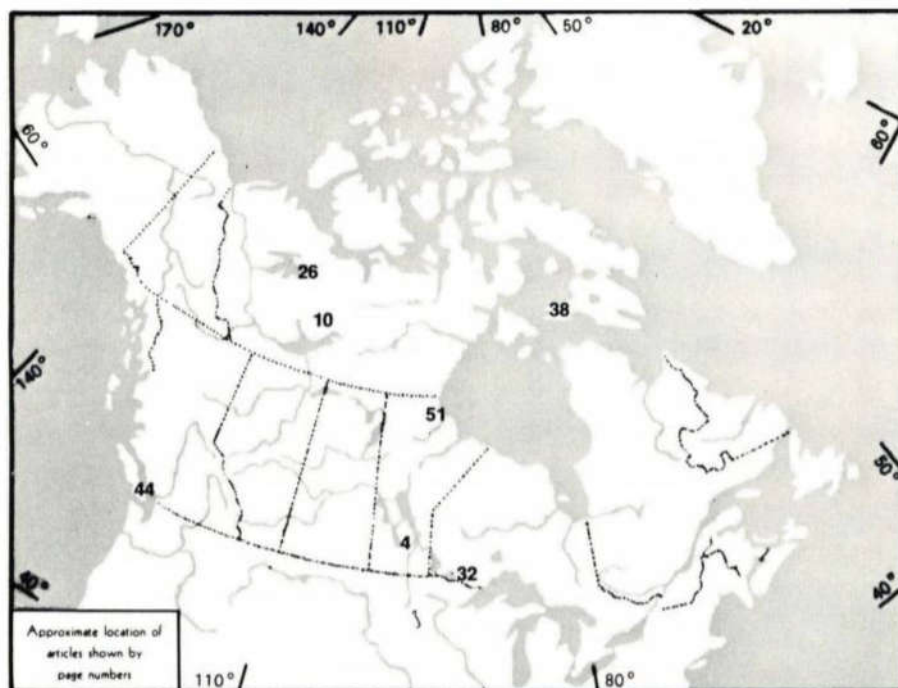
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MAGAZINE OF THE NORTH

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COVER: 'Nanaimo, the coaling station at Vancouver's Island', 1859, by Lieutenant Edward D. Panter-Downes. Water-colour, 17.8 cm x 25.4 cm. From the collection of the Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

HUDSON'S BAY HOUSE
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The Plot to Buy the Canadian Northwest

By Carman Cumming

THE TWO MEN MET on the night train from New York to Buffalo: the promoter and the respectable Toronto businessman. As the train chuffed up the darkened valley of the Hudson River, the promoter confided that he was working on his biggest deal ever. Quite simply, he planned to buy up the Canadian Northwest — from Manitoba through to the Rockies and all the vast lands to the north — and sell it to the United States.

It was exactly a century ago, in the summer of 1884; the Canadian West was wracked by discontent and the scheme of promoter E. A. C. Pew, from Welland, Ontario, was not quite as bizarre as it now sounds. In the swaying smoking compartment, possibly after a drop of whisky, he may even have sounded convincing as he told his astonishing story.

He had, he explained, just come from Washington, where he had received private and informal support for his plan to bring about, first, the secession of the 'North-West', then commercial union with the United States, and finally annexation — 'though of course the latter is to be kept in the background'.

He had been assured, Pew said, that the United States would be willing to pay \$25 to \$30 millions, in one way or another, for the coup. The premier of Manitoba, Honest John Norquay, would be bought off with 'money down' plus a United States senatorship, and Louis Riel, the Metis rebel, would be brought back from the United States to 'assuage the French and half-breeds'.

At the moment, Pew went on, he was on his way back to Winnipeg to lay the groundwork there. He had already secured one of the three Winnipeg newspapers, and was working on a second. As propagandist for the campaign, he hinted, he would have Edward (Ned) Farrer, the brilliant, amiable and hard-drinking young

Irishman who edited the *Winnipeg Sun* — and who five years later would be deep in shadowy plots to annex the whole of Canada to the United States.

The Toronto businessman who listened to Pew's story with growing amazement was H. P. Dwight, general manager of the Great North Western Telegraph Company. When he arrived in Toronto, Dwight quickly set down what he had heard in a letter to his boss, President Erastus Wiman, and from there the message moved by indirect means to come before the eyes of the prime minister, Sir John A. Macdonald.

The chain of communication was significant, because both men who passed on the message would become agents for Macdonald in sniffing out the plot. The first, Erastus Wiman, was a beefy, bombastic, one-time Toronto journalist who had made a fortune in New York, and would later be a leader in the movement for commercial union between Canada and the United States.

The second link in the chain was Wiman's cousin, William McDougall, also a former journalist, and one-time member of Macdonald's cabinet who had fallen from grace. McDougall wrote the prime minister, explaining that Wiman had sent him Dwight's letter, disclosing 'transactions of a treasonable nature', and said he felt obligated, as a privy councillor, to pass it on — even though his advice might not be much welcomed.

McDougall may have seen the plot as a way to repair damaged fortunes, for he took pains to make it seem like a serious threat.

'I need not tell you who Mr. Pew is', he told Macdonald. 'You know his antecedents better than I. But whatever else he may be, he is not a lunatic. There is method in his operations, and great boldness, much cunning and utter unscrupulousness in his methods. He is also a man with a grievance. The stoppage of the South Western Railway of Manitoba has seriously affected his financial schemes, as well as the fortunes of many other more deserving people. For these and

Carman Cumming, professor of journalism at Carleton University in Ottawa, is currently engaged in research on the life of Edward Farrer, prominent nineteenth-century journalist and annexationist.

'I do not think this government would hesitate a moment in paying 30 millions for so valuable an acquisition. We paid 7 millions for Texas, and 7½ millions for Alaska.'

*— William Lawrence,
First Controller
of the U.S. Treasury*

LAYING OUT THE GRIT CAMPAIGN.



Two men whose names were linked with the 1884 plot to annex the Canadian Northwest would also be players in the 1891 annexation issue, when the Liberal party was accused of selling out to the United States to obtain free trade. Edward (Ned) Farrer (top, holding newspaper) was by now editorial page editor of the Toronto 'Globe', and alleged to be a secret annexationist. Erastus Wiman (sitting on Farrer's left) served as the prime minister's spy in the 1884 episode, and later became a leading exponent of commercial union. The other figures in this Tory campaign cartoon are (left to right) Liberal M. P. Sir Richard Cartwright, Liberal party leader Wilfrid Laurier, U.S. President Benjamin Harrison, and U.S. Secretary of State James G. Blaine.

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Edward Farrer (left), editor of the Winnipeg 'Sun' in 1884, who was linked tenuously to the plot to sell out the Northwest. Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald received first word of the western annexation plot in a letter from William McDougall, a one-time cabinet colleague.

20 July 1884
 Hon. J. A. Macdonald
 Ottawa July 20th 1884
 145391
 269
 My dear Sir John
 I lately received from my
 cousin, E. Wiman, of New York, a letter from
 W. Dwight (of Toronto) which discloses true
 actions of a reasonable nature, that ought
 I think, to be made known to the Government.
 Having occasion to see Mr. Pope on Saturday
 I read the material parts of the letter to
 him, and he strongly urged me to put you
 in possession of the information it contained.

Public Archives Canada

other reasons I am inclined to believe that Pew means mischief, and circumstances just now are rather favorable to him than otherwise.'

Macdonald, vacationing in Rivière du Loup and in poor health, did not have to be told that things were bad in the West. At Winnipeg, he knew, the collapse of a hectic boom had left the raw frontier city filled with disappointed 'boomsters', always ready to plot or complain. In the countryside farmers were organizing angrily to protest the Canadian Pacific's rail monopoly (which barred the building of branch lines to take out their wheat) and Macdonald's national policy of tariff protection, which forced them to pay dearly for reapers from eastern Canada. Macdonald had already heard wild rumours of a possible armed uprising by the farmers. And farther west there was the rankling discontent of the Metis — discontent that would become rebellion the following spring.

Yes, things were not well in the West. Pew, the prime minister reflected, was a fraud, but a convincing one. And Ned Farrer perhaps involved in the plot? Macdonald must have shaken his head in chagrin. A dozen years earlier he had seen Farrer's talent, at a time when Ned was a young immigrant barely into his twenties, recently come from Rome where he was said to have been studying for the priesthood. Farrer had risen to editorship of the chief Tory organ, the *Toronto Mail*, when still in his twenties. He'd then had a fling in New York journalism and had come back to edit the Tory paper in Winnipeg, the *Times*, only to be fired in April after a 'pretty extensive spree'. Now, as

editor of the *Sun*, he was certainly writing like a secessionist. Friends in the West had already sent vague warnings about Farrer's activities.

For Macdonald, it was all something of a nuisance. But he considered it worthwhile to inform the Governor-General, Lord Lansdowne, passing on McDougall's letter. 'This fellow Pew of whom he speaks I know well,' the prime minister wrote. 'He is a liar and a swindler whom I found out years ago. But, as McDougall says, he is not a lunatic — is very plausible . . . Still, I don't apprehend any real danger from him'.

In New York, meanwhile, Erastus Wiman heard from his cousin that Macdonald had been told of the plot, and he belatedly offered the prime minister his own services as a spy. He passed on a letter received from Pew (asking for the loan of \$200,000) and said he had invited the promoter down to New York, so he could get at all the facts of the conspiracy. The question was, though — how far did Macdonald want him to go in getting to the bottom of the matter? Would it be worthwhile to go down to Washington with Pew, to 'spend a little money' and find out all about it? Macdonald wired him to go ahead. He also brought McDougall down to Rivière du Loup, and asked him to make a trip to Winnipeg — ostensibly to visit a sister, but in actuality to check on the conspiracy.

Wiman, once engaged, took to the role of *agent provocateur* with zest (McDougall seems to have produced nothing except complaints over his expenses). On 6 September Wiman wrote to say that he had been

keeping Pew on a string, leading him to believe he would be introduced to 'good parties who have plenty of money' and pumping him for details of the plan. Among other things, he said, Pew had told him of a positive arrangement with Premier Norquay, to accept \$1 million in bonds of the new state.

Pew had first been 'led to take action' by S. J. Ritchie, Ohio industrialist and president of the Central Ontario Railroad Company. And a number of other important Americans were in on the plan, including Senators Payne and Sherman of Ohio, House Speaker Carlisle and Judge William Lawrence, first controller of the treasury.

Wiman, acting as cat's paw, had also introduced Pew to a number of his New York friends. 'Strange to say, quite a number of them feel greatly interested, and one or two would not be disinclined to help him', Wiman wrote. 'Of course I do not reveal my hand, and he is quite encouraged in the belief that an agent will be sent to Manitoba before ten days are out with the money necessary to buy the press and fix Norquay and his ministers and generally prepare the way for a definite and successful independent [sic] movement'.

Wiman next wrote on 13 September, saying he had been to Washington with Pew but that the visit had not been very 'productive'. Only Judge Lawrence had seemed interested in the affair, and even he was 'much more guarded' than Pew had led him to expect. Judge Lawrence, however, had seemed to think there would be no difficulty in getting Congress committed to a policy of welcoming in a seceding province. At Wiman's urging, the judge had also agreed to write a letter giving an indication of the American position, although he had written less freely than he had spoken. Wiman enclosed a copy of the letter, which, though cautiously worded, was certainly strong enough to have caused a scandal if it had been made public at the time.

The letter started out by saying that Lawrence was giving only a personal viewpoint, adding that he did not expect that either of the two men then contesting the presidency, James G. Blaine or Grover Cleveland, would let the United States be dragged into a war over Manitoba.

'If, however', it went on, 'the people of Manitoba should declare their independence and that independence should be recognized by Canada and by the British authorities . . . I think it would be very desirable for the United States to acquire it, and I believe the government would be willing to buy it . . . I do not think this government would hesitate a moment in paying 30 millions for so valuable an acquisition'.

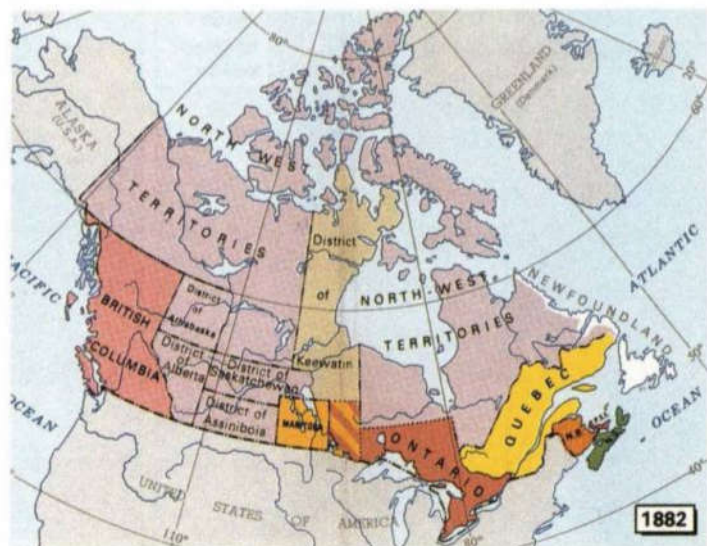
(Judge Lawrence, however, showed some confusion over what exactly was to be bought, saying he understood that 'Manitoba possesses an extent of country nearly equal to the whole United States territory, exclusive of Alaska'.)

Wiman passed on to Sir John not only Lawrence's letter but also a six-page memo, dictated by Pew to Wiman's 'phonographer', which set out the complaints of the Northwest and the prospects for the annexation movement.

In it, Pew claimed that he already had some sympathy from two of the three Winnipeg newspapers. The 'parties favorable' to the plan, he said, included 'the Hon. S. C. Briggs, late provincial secretary, who is president of the company which owns the "Sun" newspaper and is a man of influence and position and one of the wealthiest men in the North-West. . . . ' He added that 'Mr. Roe of the Times [presumably Amos Rowe] would not be favorable to a United States connection, though strongly in favor of independence.' And 'Mr. [W. F.] Luxton of the Free Press would favor immediate connection with the United States.'

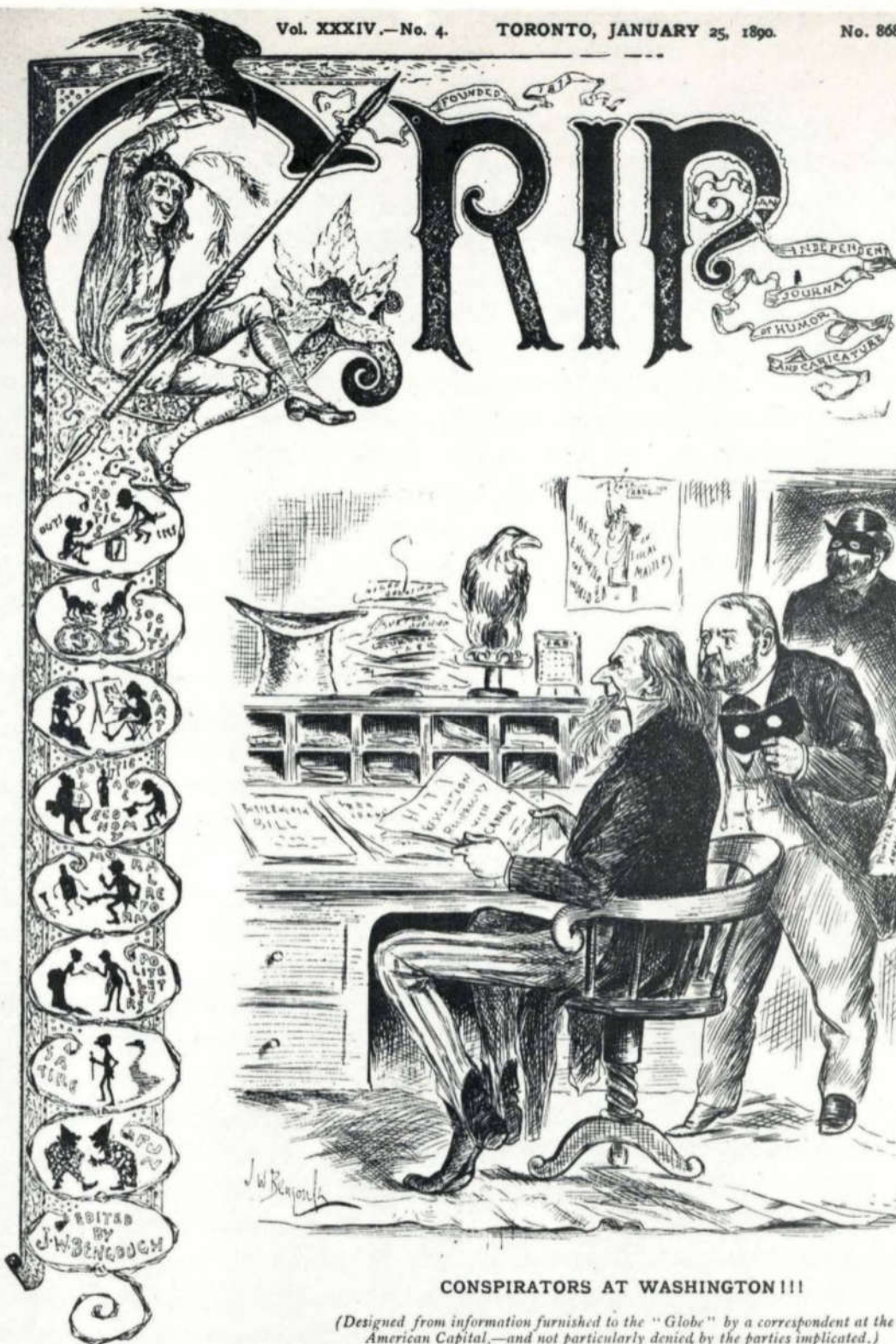
Just how committed these newspapers actually were, however, remains open to question. During the summer of 1884 Farrer's *Sun* had, it is true, often complained of Manitoba's plight, and hinted at the possibility of secession. 'We were brought into Confederation without our consent, and it can be no crime to leave it without ceremony', it had said on 31 May, while backing Norquay's demand for 'better terms' from Ottawa.

On 7 June it was even more outspoken, after a warning from the *Times* (a Macdonald supporter) that Sir John might 'become aggressive' if Manitoba continued to fight the terms Ottawa offered. 'The premier [Macdonald] is mistaken in thinking that we depend upon the East', said the *Sun*, ominously. 'Our interests, it may be our destiny, lie to the South. If he wishes to test the matter, by all means let him "become aggressive". He cannot strip us of much, for we are already



The 1884 scheme of promoter E. A. C. Pew was to bring about annexation to the United States of the Canadian Northwest — from Manitoba west to the Rockies and the lands to the north.

Courtesy of Energy, Mines and Resources Canada



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Six years after the failure of the Northwest plot, Edward Farrer, then editor-in-chief of the Toronto 'Daily Mail', was cartooned in 'Grip' showing Uncle Sam how to bring about the annexation of Canada.

naked. But he can succeed, if he tried ever so little, in precipitating secession; and if *he* desires that, it must be confessed that the ambition is mutual.'

At the end of the summer, on 1 September the *Sun* was still sounding the same note. The British connection was not in immediate danger, it said, 'but it is as certain as anything can be in human affairs that independence or annexation is the ultimate destiny of Canada ... [T]he birth of a Canadian nation or the bloodless absorption of these provinces by the Republic ... is written in the book of fate.'

If the *Sun* and Ned Farrer actually were allies of Pew, they took a strange way of showing it, for through the summer of 1884 the paper repeatedly savaged Pew, calling him a fraud and a humbug. That may have been partly because the *Sun* was a supporter of the Canadian Pacific Railway (an unpopular, but lucrative, position) and Pew as an independent railway promoter was an enemy. But that alone did not seem to call for the type of language the paper used about Pew.

On 23 June, for instance, it called him one of the city's 'cheap and noisy boomsters', and said he couldn't build a mile of streetcar track if given the material and the right-of-way. A week later (30 June) it went into his shady background and bluntly invited him to sue:

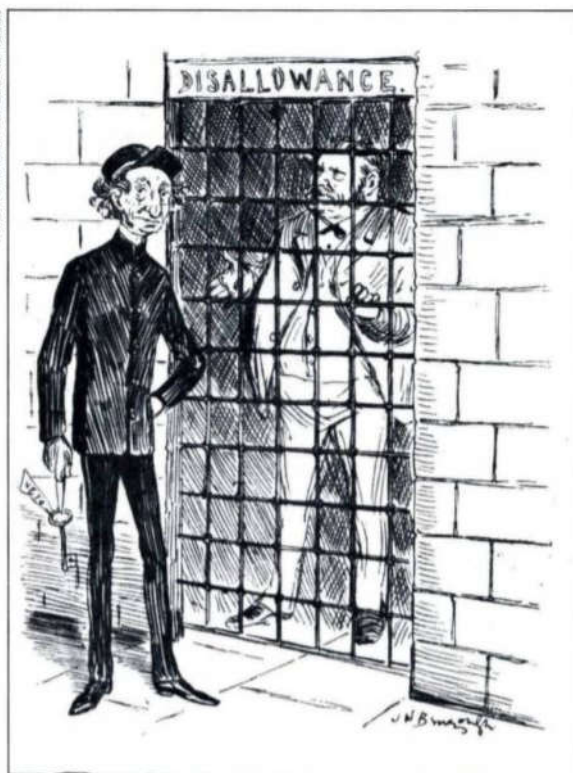
'He is a fraud. That is plain and no doubt actionable English. Some years ago he operated a peat factory for the purpose of extracting turf from the cranberry marshes near Dunville, Ontario. It failed, of course. A gold mine could not make money, at least the stockholders could not, if Mr. Pew conducted it. Then he started a bank at Welland. Then he went into the steamboat business, and then, according to the law of natural selection, he came to the Northwest in the capacity of general philanthropist ... Mr. Pew is simply a humbug with a pious turn and a marvellous stock of impudence. We don't want either him or his money, if he has any.'

The *Sun's* destruction of Pew's reputation (what there was of it) may well have been a factor in killing his plot. In any event, Manitobans declined to buy either Pew's bonds or his conspiracy. The following spring, the Metis rebellion on the plains brought a surge of loyalty through the 'British' population, and the Northwest remained Canadian.

There were a number of curious postscripts, however, for each of the principal characters:

Late in 1889, while Erastus Wiman was campaigning for commercial union, Pew, too, as president of the Toronto, Hamilton and Buffalo Railway Company, was writing to Macdonald, also calling for commercial union and making what seemed to be a veiled blackmail threat.

In the same year Ned Farrer, again editor of the



NORQUAY, A PRISONER OF HOPE.

"I had a long and earnest interview with Sir John, and impressed upon him the necessity of allowing the Provinces liberty to charter railways within their borders. I have hopes that the Government will do this."—*Norquay, in Winnipeg paper.*

Among the issues that provoked talk in Manitoba of secession or annexation, none was stronger than the complaint over the C P R's rail monopoly. This 1887 cartoon in 'Grip' showed Sir John A. Macdonald 'imprisoning' Manitoba premier John Norquay through the federal policy of disallowing alternate rail lines.

Toronto *Mail*, and among those who had led in its break with Sir John, was in Washington, secretly pressing on James Blaine, now secretary of state, a plan to bring the whole of Canada into the union.

Two years later, when Farrer had switched to the Toronto *Globe*, S. J. Ritchie was said to have supplied that paper with \$50,000 to fight Macdonald in the election of 1891, and to strengthen the paper's continentalist leanings.

William McDougall, in the same election campaign, offered, in exchange for the promise of a senatorship, to give the government letters to Wiman that implicated Farrer as an annexationist. (Always a loser, McDougall got the *promise*, but not the senatorship.)

In the climactic rally of the election, at Toronto's Academy of Music, Macdonald exposed a pamphlet, allegedly written by Farrer, which advised the Americans how to bring about annexation. The exposure was crucial in allowing Macdonald, just a few months later, to die in office. The Old Chieftain could not have known it at the time, of course, but he had quashed the last serious annexation movement in Canada. ♦

John Richardson — First Naturalist in the Northwest

By C. Stuart Houston

New information and some corrections to Sir John Franklin's account of his first expedition will be published next month in 'Arctic Ordeal: the Journal of John Richardson, Surgeon-Naturalist with Franklin'.

Dr Richardson's journal, his books and manuscripts were purchased on the death of his grandson, Captain John Franklin Richardson, by the University of Illinois. The journal is edited by Dr C. Stuart Houston and published by McGill-Queen's University Press. Sketches by H. Albert Hochbaum are from 'Arctic Ordeal'.



'Wavys' or snow geese, at Point Lake, about 80 kilometres north of Fort Enterprise. Richardson recorded in his journal on 12 September 1820: 'These birds were feeding in large flocks on the crowberries which grew plentifully on the sides of the hills.'

DOCTOR JOHN RICHARDSON, surgeon and naturalist with two Arctic Land Expeditions led by John Franklin in 1819-1822 and 1825-1827, made an inventory of the flowering plants, lichens, birds, mammals and fish in the Northwest, and in particular at the Hudson's Bay Company posts of Carlton House and Cumberland House along the Saskatchewan River. Although many previously unrecognized species still carry his name, his work for over a century was neglected by Canadians. The publication, in late 1984, of his hand-written diary or journal, kept during the second half of the first expedition, will allow a better appreciation of the man and his accomplishments.

Richardson was born at Dumfries, Scotland, on 5 November 1787, the first of twelve children of brewer Gabriel Richardson and his wife, née Anne Mundell. A precocious boy, John learned to read at four years of age and was apprenticed to his surgeon uncle at the age of thirteen. In the winters during his apprenticeship he studied at Edinburgh, obtaining his licence from the Royal College of Surgeons on 17 February 1807. He was then appointed as assistant-surgeon with the Royal Marines in actions against the United States in the War of 1812-14 and visited Halifax, Montreal, St John on the Richelieu River, and Quebec City. After the wars, Richardson went on half-pay and resumed studies at Edinburgh. Having completed a thesis on yellow fever, he obtained his degree of Doctor of Medicine in August 1826. At the same time, he studied natural history under Professor Robert Jameson. He practised in Leith, the port of Edinburgh, until his appointment to Franklin's expedition in search of the long-sought Northwest Passage.

When the secretary of the admiralty communicated with Richardson on 25 March 1819 about the expedition, he wrote: '... if you feel disposed for such an expedition, and think that your health and qualifications are suitable for the undertaking, and you could be ready to set out from England by the first week in May, I request you to state to me whether you could undertake to collect and preserve specimens of minerals, plants, and animals, in order that I may lay it before Lord Melville, for his consideration and approval'. On 24 April 1819 Richardson wrote from London to his father: 'My duty will be to collect minerals, plants and animals. The country has never been visited by a naturalist, and presents a rich harvest. My knowledge of these subjects is very limited, but I am



Dr John Richardson, aged about 38. An engraving from a contemporary portrait in oils.

endeavouring to extend it by the opportunities afforded me here, and if I succeed in making a good collection, I have no doubt of my promotion on my return.'

Richardson was a true generalist. In the days when few people other than medical doctors had training in botany and zoology, almost every British and American exploring expedition hired a doctor to act both as surgeon and naturalist. Richardson proved himself to be proficient in both fields, and to have been overly modest in his assessment of his own abilities.

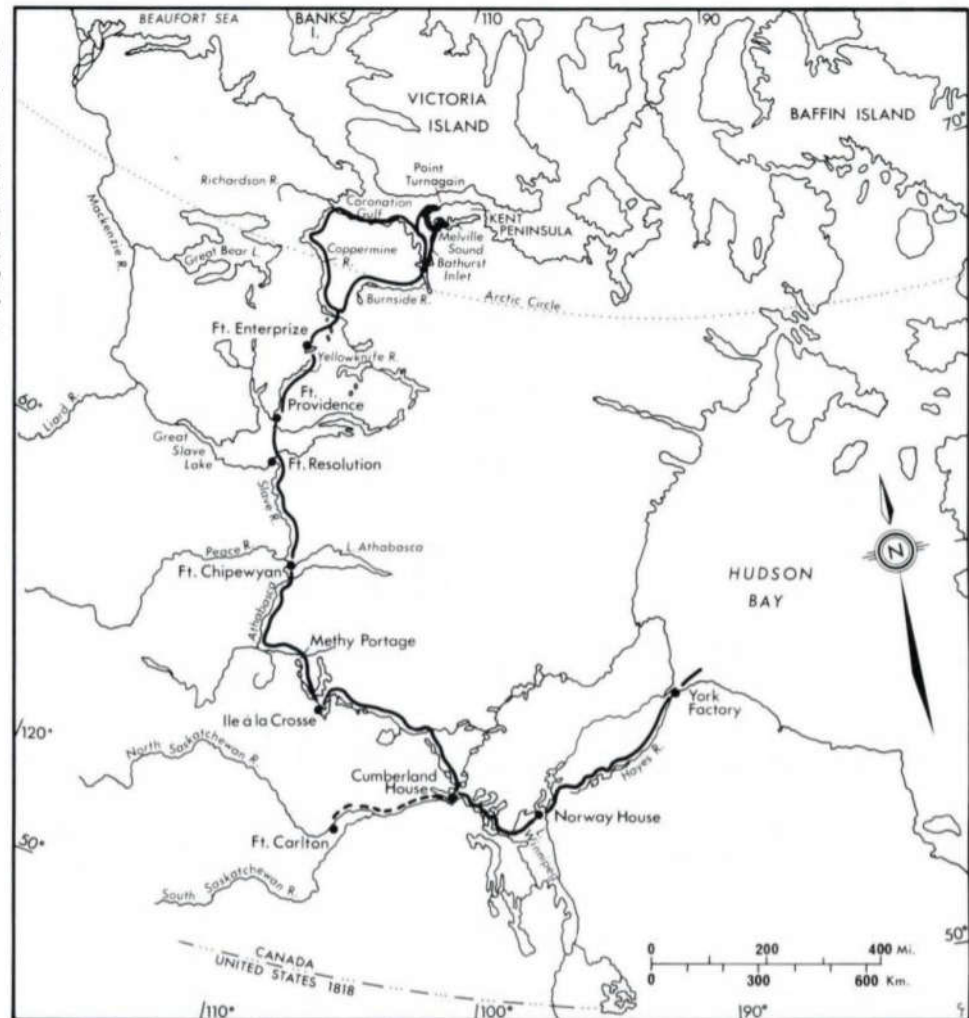
Richardson's diary is a primary source which gives new information and new insights, and corrects some errors in Franklin's 1823 published account. Richardson's account is shorter and more direct; it includes accounts for fifty days not detailed by Franklin, allows a more accurate estimate of the party's daily food consumption during periods of near-starvation, and gives additional details concerning natural history, landscape, geology, weather, voyageurs and Indians. Detailed courses and distances, up to thirty-three in a day's travel, allow more accurate pin-pointing of campsites, and explain the incredible accuracy of Franklin's maps.

Richardson accorded a high priority to geology and meteorology since, together with botany, they were indicators of the future economic prospects of a new land. He had a good grasp of the geologic principles known at the time.

Frequent, accurate Latin lists of plants in his daily journal confirm that Richardson was already a remarkably competent botanist, able to identify a prodigious number of known species in a totally new region. He wrote the detailed descriptions, all in Latin, of

C. Stuart Houston is Professor and Head of Medical Imaging, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon. He has studied in depth the history of ornithology on the Canadian prairies and in the Northwest; his writing on the subject includes four books, one being 'To the Arctic by Canoe 1819-1821: The Journal and Paintings of Robert Hood, Midshipman with Franklin'.

The route travelled by Richardson during the Arctic Land Expedition led by Franklin, 1819-22. On the second expedition, 1825-27, he travelled down the Athabasca-Slave-Mackenzie River system and explored the Arctic Coast from the Mackenzie Delta eastward to the Coppermine, returning overland to Great Bear Lake by the Coppermine and Dease rivers.



many other plants which he recognized as new and hitherto undescribed species.

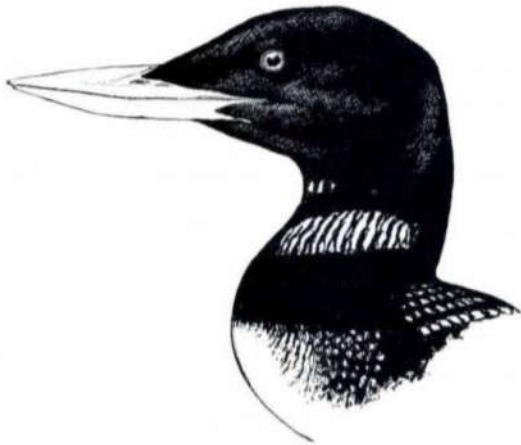
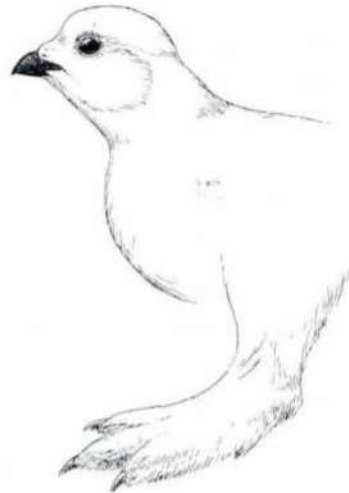
Richardson's exemplary list of lichens at Fort Enterprise further illustrates the extraordinary scholarship of the man. He relied on Acharius's *Lichenographia Universalis*, written totally in Latin, for identification. Although many of the lichen species have since been reclassified into different genera, most remain readily recognizable. His journal offers evidence, after 160 years, that Richardson should be given full credit for the description of two new species of lichen, previously credited to W.J. Hooker.

Richardson was also a competent ichthyologist and mammalogist, entirely familiar with the principles of scientific classification, such as the number of rays in each fin in fish, and the complex dental formulas of mammals. Detailed descriptions of sixteen species of fish in his journal were largely reproduced in the appendix to Franklin's 1823 *Journey*, and in *Fauna Boreali-Americana*, Volume 3, *The Fish*. Mammals and fish were important sources of food and the fur

trade was then of central economic importance in the Northwest.

Birds were less important economically, although some of the larger species were also used for food. Bird identification was incredibly difficult in the 1820s. Although Richardson was not yet skilled in the science, nothing can excuse what was later done with his bird and mammal specimens. Collected by Richardson and Hood at Cumberland House in 1819-1820, and by Richardson at Carlton House from 10-26 May 1820, these specimens were sent to York Factory with the Hudson's Bay Company men. When the twelve species of mammals and 'above forty species of birds' reached England, they were given by the Earl of Bathurst, secretary for war and the colonies, to Joseph Sabine, the inspector-general of taxes and an honorary secretary of the Horticultural Society, who had a large collection of British birds. Bathurst requested that Sabine 'prepare a scientific description of the different specimens, and communicate the same to the Linnean Society', and then place the specimens in the British

Willow ptarmigan in winter plumage.



Yellow-billed loon. Richardson gives the first-ever description of this loon in his journal, while at Fort Enterprise in the autumn of 1820.

Museum. Bathurst had no business requesting one scientist to prepare for publication the work of another, before the latter had even returned from the expedition.

On 13 January 1822 Sabine presented a review of the 'marmots' of North America and a description of three new species before the Linnean Society of London. The three new species of ground squirrel he named *Arctomys Franklinii*, the Grey American Marmot; *Arctomys Richardsonii*, the Tawny American Marmot; and *Arctomys Hoodii*, the Striped American Marmot. These accounts were in press when an irate Captain Franklin returned from his ordeal. He forced Sabine to append the following note in proof: 'October 29, 1822, Captain Franklin, who returned in the present month, whilst the preceding pages were printing, having intimated his desire that an account of the subjects of Natural History collected by him during his expedition should accompany the narrative which he is preparing for the press, the descriptions of the collections alluded to at the commencement of this paper

will form a part of that publication'. This explains how Joseph Sabine, who had already invested much time and effort in studying Richardson's specimens, came to prepare the Zoological Appendix, and to receive credit for the description of new forms, including the three ground squirrels, Wilson's Phalarope, and a new race of magpie. It also explains why Richardson withheld later specimens from Sabine. The Yellow-billed Loon, so carefully described in Richardson's long-unpublished journal, was not recognized as a new species until 1859. Eighteen species of birds noted by Richardson, and additional sightings of another thirty-seven species, failed to be listed in Sabine's appendix to Franklin's 1823 book. The Arctic Ground Squirrel and a new lemming similarly missed publication in Sabine's appendix, though in this case Richardson did publish their descriptions in *Fauna Boreali-Americana*, Volume I, *The Quadrupeds*, in 1829.

The first naturalist to visit any new part of the world tries to sort the species observed there into three categories: species already known in Europe or elsewhere,



Barren-ground caribou near Fort Enterprise, 9 October 1820. Richardson observed: 'The horns ... are never alike in any two individuals.'



Two muskoxen sighted on the banks of the Coppermine River, 12 July 1821, six days before the expedition reached the Arctic Coast.

simple varieties or subspecies, and entirely new species. Once such species are well known and all their characteristic features illustrated in books these decisions may look deceptively simple, but it was not an easy task at the time. Richardson had an incredibly advanced perception of varieties that interbred freely, and thus he forfeited priority for some forms that later proved to be new species, by lumping them together with similar forms and thereby losing the opportunity to bestow a new Latin name.

For a naturalist, Richardson's experiences on the first expedition were sometimes heart-breaking. He found and preserved new species, carried them 'for many days through the snow', only to leave them behind, unsung and undescribed, everyone's 'strength being completely exhausted'. As he said: '... the disasters attending our return across the Barren Grounds from the sea-coast, caused us to leave behind the whole collection made during the summer of 1821, with the exception of a few plants collected during the descent of the Copper-Mine River, which were intrusted to Mr. Wentzel's care when he left us. The part of the collection, which is lost, contained some plants, which I deemed to be new or curious'.

Richardson's achievements were even more noteworthy during the second Arctic Land Expedition. By this time the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company were amalgamated and, no longer fighting each other, could offer all the supplies the second expedition needed. Most of the crew were disciplined naval men rather than voyageurs, and they travelled in larger, stronger boats of mahogany and ash. Finally, the second expedition used the eminently navigable Mackenzie River, rather than the difficult ascent of the Yellowknife system and the descent of the raging Coppermine River.

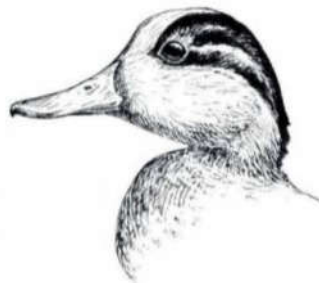
From the second expedition, new bird species included the Trumpeter Swan, White-tailed Ptarmigan, Forster's Tern, Black-backed Woodpecker, Olive-sided Flycatcher, Clay-colored Sparrow and Smith's Longspur, together with descriptions of seven forms now recognized as subspecies.

After his years of major exploration were over, Richardson continued to make important contributions to science. He was a key member of the Strickland Committee which composed the authoritative and lasting 'Series of Propositions for Rendering the Nomenclature of Zoology Uniform and Permanent', known since as the 'Rules of the British Association' or as 'The Stricklandian Code'. As Paul Farber has said, this 'reform of nomenclature gave zoology, and ornithology in particular, a common language... and removed much unnecessary confusion'.

Richardson's naturalist years coincided exactly with what Lynn Barber has termed the 'Heyday of Natural History (1820-1870)', when 'natural theology made

the study of natural history not only respectable, but almost a pious duty' and 'the purpose of studying Nature was to approach a closer knowledge of God'. To catalogue all of creation, Richardson played a major role, in the 1820s as a field naturalist, and thereafter as a classifier of specimens brought by others from remote regions. In this work, he described forty-three still-accepted genera of fish and well over two hundred species of fish. For the eighth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Richardson wrote a 128-page article on ichthyology, a 21-page article on the polar regions, and a 6-page biography of his old chief, John Franklin, who died during his ill-fated third expedition, this time by sea.

In his medical vocation, Richardson became the chief medical officer of Haslar Hospital, then the largest hospital in the world and the largest brick building in the British empire. He raised the quality of nursing care in the navy, improved the treatment of mental disease in sailors, and introduced general anaesthesia into naval surgery.



Green-winged teal drake in spring plumage.

A member of the prestigious Arctic Council, Richardson in 1848 led a strenuous, well-organized search expedition for John Franklin, whose third expedition had not been heard from for three years. In the fastest boat and canoe travel on record, Richardson and Dr John Rae left Montreal on 19 April and spent August searching the familiar coastline which Richardson had first mapped during the second expedition. Although nearing his sixty-first birthday, Richardson kept up to the younger men on the fifteen-day overland march from the Arctic Ocean to Great Bear Lake.

Richardson was knighted in 1846, made Companion of the Bath in 1850, received the royal medal of the Royal Society of London in 1856, and the degree of LL.D. from Trinity College, Dublin, in 1857.

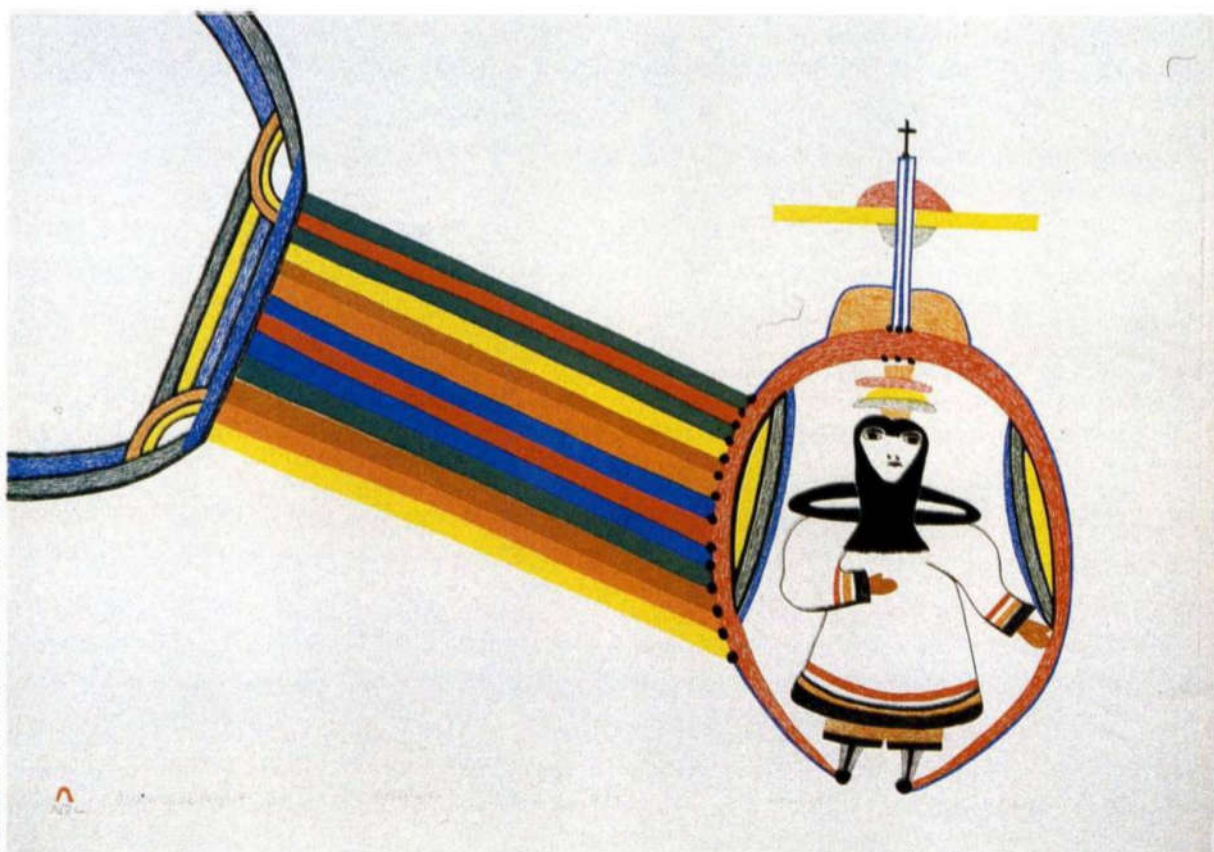
As Dr David Alexander Stewart of Ninette, Manitoba, told the British Empire Medical Association in Winnipeg in 1930 'Plants of Northern Canada named by and for Richardson would make a garden of respectable size, and animals named by and for him a considerable zoo'. ♦

At first Inuit carvings of Christian subjects were stiff and unexpressive. Now, works full of energy and emotion demonstrate the strong integration of Christianity into Inuit life.

Christianity and Inuit Art

By Jean Blodgett

Jean Blodgett, adjunct curator of Inuit art at the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, is author of 'Kenojuak' and 'Grasp Tight the Old Ways'. She expresses her appreciation to the many people who contributed to this article.



Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa.

The 'prophet' descends, as others in the North these days, in a brilliantly coloured helicopter. 'Arrival of the Prophet'. Lithograph by Pudlo (1916-). Cape Dorset, 1983. 56 x 78.5 cm. By permission of the West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative.



Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

'Cape Dorset Anglican Church, 1956-1965'. Drawing with coloured pencil and felt-tip pen by Etidlooi Etidlooi (1910-1981), Cape Dorset, 1980-1981. 56.3 x 76.2 cm. By permission of the West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative, Cape Dorset.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CHURCH in the Canadian Arctic is indicated by the northern saying that the Hudson's Bay Company's initials, HBC, stand for 'Here Before Christ'. While the Company's presence in the North seems to go back to time immemorial, the church seems to have been there for almost as long. Missionaries followed hard upon the heels of Company traders — if they did not actually precede them — into remote areas, and their influence throughout the North has been just as pervasive.

Moravians established their first permanent mission in Labrador in the late 1700s; Roman Catholic and Anglican work, begun in the mid to late 1800s, has been particularly active from the turn of the century on; recently the Pentecostal movement has become yet another major religious force in the Arctic. Over the years conversion to Christianity essentially replaced the traditional Inuit religion. The new religion seemed to affect all aspects of life just as the old religion had: impatient explorers record how their Inuit guides would not travel or do any other work on Sundays, missionaries tell of extensive Christmas celebrations with people from surrounding camps, and printed translations of the Bible first introduced a system of writing for the Inuit language.

This new religion also had its effect on traditional artistic practices, but not as great an effect as might be expected. The arrival of missionaries in the North did inspire some representations of Christian subjects. For example Inuit in the Chesterfield Inlet area, where the Catholics established a mission in 1912 and a hospital in 1931, made ivory carvings in the first half of this century of standard Christian subjects such as the crucifix, Christ, and the Madonna and Child. The technique, material and size are comparable to other contemporaneous carvings from the area, but the subject matter is decidedly alien. Not only are the figures foreign in appearance and dress, they are stiff and unexpressive. Obviously copied from some religious

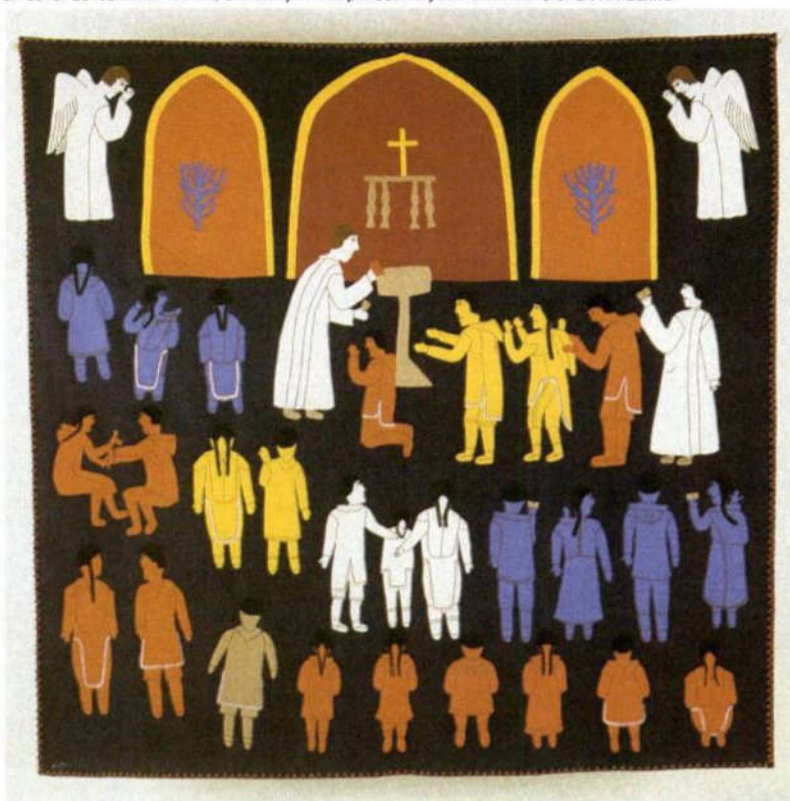
source, the subjects lack conviction. Whatever the religion of the unknown makers, these works are not inspired or inspiring but they are important documents since representations of Christian subjects were not common at the time. Of these, many are to be found in the collections of religious organizations, suggesting that the majority were made at the request of missionaries.

These early missionaries did not provoke an outpouring of Christian carvings, nor did they substantially reduce the number of artworks inspired by traditional religion. While missionaries worked hard to get people to give up their traditional religious beliefs and practices, they do not seem to have specifically addressed the topic of religious art. Perhaps unaware of the strong traditional link between religion and art, they did not consider art an important issue. It may be too that the Inuit, trying to survive in a harsh environment, continued to make use of traditional religious objects even though ostensibly now Christian.

Another major consideration, probably the most influential factor in the proliferation of traditional religious subjects and the small number of Christian ones, was the burgeoning commercial market for Inuit art. Missionaries were just one early wave in a flood of outsiders into the Arctic. These visitors collected souvenirs and artifacts in increasing volume, and Inuit began to make more and more items, especially carvings, for sale or trade rather than for their own use. Under these circumstances, Inuit continued to represent traditional religious subjects for a number of reasons. It may be that as Christians making carvings for someone else, they were representing a subject that was no longer spiritually meaningful to themselves. Or, whatever their beliefs, they may have simply treated the subject as something to carve like any other familiar topic. Or they may have been reacting to encouragement from a market that was collecting objects representative of another culture. As such, the objects would be expected to reflect traditional Inuit values not imported ones such as Christianity.

This last factor continues to be a major influence in the field of Inuit art. While contemporary Inuit artists may choose to document their old ways for reasons of pride and sense of heritage, they are also under considerable pressure from the market place to represent traditional subjects rather than more currently relevant ones. Artworks showing shamans, dog sleds, or igloos are more popular than those of Christ, snowmobiles or pre-fabricated houses. Whether as a result of saleability or the artist's personal preference, shamanistic and mythological subjects far outnumber Christian ones in contemporary Inuit art.

If Christianity has not inspired a great number of artworks, it has inspired a group of varied, innovative and creative pieces. Taking this inspiration in its broad-



'Scene'. Wall hanging in wool, felt and embroidery floss by Mary Yuusipik (1936-) of Baker Lake. 147.0 x 149.4 cm. Gift of Donald Harvie, Calgary, to the Macdonald Stewart Art Centre, University of Guelph.



'Missionary'. Carving in green stone by Ovilu Tunnilie (1949-), 1981. Collection of the West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative, Cape Dorset.



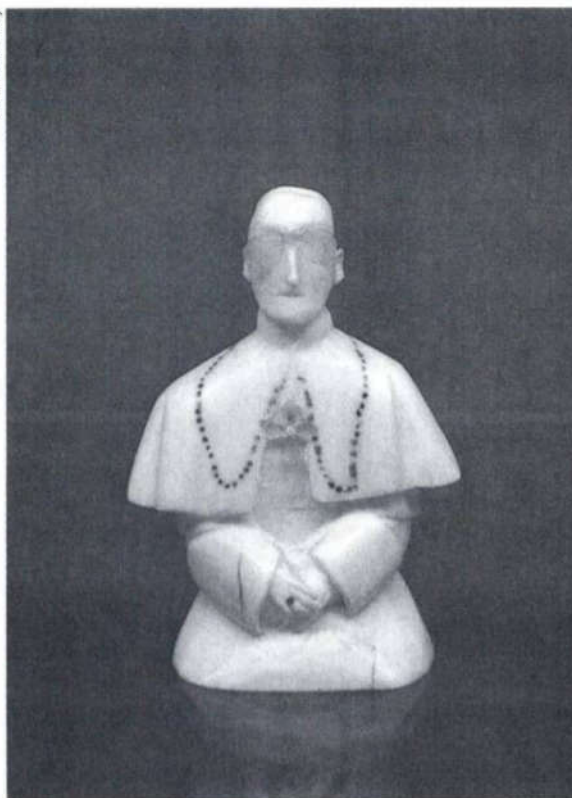
'Mass'. Carving in ivory by Antonin Attark (d. 1960) of Pelly Bay, c. 1954. Length: 45.7 cm. Collection of the Eskimo Museum, Churchill. Reproduced by permission of the Koomiut Co-operative, Pelly Bay.

est sense some of the works document churchmen and the church's presence in the Arctic. Etidlooie of Cape Dorset, for example, in his 1980-81 series of drawings illustrating the history of his community shows the local Roman Catholic and Anglican churches in the early days not long after they were built. The Anglican church, the only permanent building in the Valley at the time, is set in a densely coloured summer landscape, surrounded by the white tents of Inuit families. The Catholic mission, built on the other side of the community near the Hudson's Bay Company buildings a few of which are included in the drawing, is shown in a snowy winter scene. A team of sled dogs is tethered outside the mission, and oil barrels — ubiquitous in the North at the time and used as colourful accents by Etidlooie — dot the landscape.

Also from Cape Dorset is Pauta's 1963 carving of an unidentified priest. The bearded figure, dressed in vestments, stands with arms raised to the side, hands outstretched in the gesture symbolic in Christianity of gathering people to the church. In contrast to the welcoming — if stereotyped — gesture of Pauta's *Priest* is the stiffly formal *Missionary* made in 1981 by Ovilu Tunnillie also of Cape Dorset. The rigid frontal stance, the severe, almost blank facial expression, the coat and tie, as well as the unfriendly position of the figure's arms — one akimbo, the other holding a book, presumably a Bible, behind his back partially hidden from our view — all create a distance between us and this man of God. While the artist may be depicting the clergyman's awkwardness in a strange environment, it is more likely that she is making a comment about outsiders in the Arctic. A younger artist, Ovilu has done other carvings making even more pointed statements about changing social conditions in the North, such as her sculpture of a white man bottle-feeding alcohol to an Inuk. Her carving of the *Missionary*, then, is more than likely not just a document of the church's presence in the North, but a comment about it.

Other representations of local clergy include the circa 1955 sculpture of *Frère Henri, an Oblate Missionary* by Antonin Attark of Pelly Bay and, from Repulse Bay, another community with a strong Catholic following, John Kaunak's *French Missionary Paddling Kayak*, 1960-66 (both in the collection of the Winnipeg Art Gallery). Kaunak's missionary, a small torso in a fully equipped traditional kayak, is somewhat dwarfed by his impressive, elongated vessel. Only closer examination reveals that the figure in the cockpit is a bearded, balding non-Inuit. While Kaunak was probably representing a particular missionary his overall presentation is more general than Attark in his carving of *Frère Henri*. In this small stone bust the artist has sensitively portrayed a man he must have known well. Done with great feeling for his subject, Attark's sculpture is an intimate portrayal of a relaxed *Frère Henri*,

Jean-Pierre Roy



'Pope Pius XII'. Carving in ivory, plastic sun glasses, by Antonin Attark (d. 1960), c. 1954. Height: 8.9 cm. Collection of Eskimo Museum, Churchill. Reproduced by permission of the Koomit Co-operative, Pelly Bay.

shown with his hands clasped behind his head.

The Eskimo Museum in Churchill has several other carvings by Attark relating to Christianity. Of particular interest is his portrait of *Pope Pius XII*. The half-figure carved in white ivory, with attached papal accoutrements in contrasting colours, sports a pair of green plastic sunglasses. In a complex composite work titled *Mass*, Attark shows a gathering of Inuit in church. Moving from left to right, small ivory figures are shown entering, crossing themselves, and then kneeling in front of the altar where a priest officiates. Elements such as the tiny objects on the altar, the naturalistic poses of the figures and the presence of small children make the scene real and meaningful — meaningful to us as it obviously was to its maker.

Worship and church gatherings have inspired other artists too. Like Attark these artists document not only the churchmen but Inuit as practising Christians. The late Ennutsiak of Frobisher Bay did carvings showing a row of seated Inuit figures holding open Bibles or hymnals as though in church. A sculpture by John Polik of Eskimo Point titled *Singing Psalms* shows a group of twelve figures being led in song. The singers, some holding hymnals, their leader and an additional figure all made of antler are pegged to a base.

Working in sculpture, the artists are somewhat restricted by their media, although both Polik and

Attark, by pegging individual elements onto a base, have achieved complex group scenes. Seamstresses making wall hangings, on the other hand, have the advantages of a larger format, a wide range of colours, and the potential for finely sewn details. In a hanging now in the collection of the University of Guelph, Yuusipik of Baker Lake shows a church interior crowded with people. The congregation of men, women and children fill the lower two-thirds of the scene; some kneel, some stand, some hold open books, their colourful clothing contrasting with the white vestments of the two churchmen. The central clergyman, holding a book with embroidered syllabics reading 'to baptize the Inuit', administers baptism to the kneeling figure in front of him. Above are three arches, the central one housing an altar and cross. Flanking the arches are two angels, whose corner position and bowed heads add to the orderly, worshipful air of the hanging.

Angels, a particularly popular subject in contemporary Christian art, appeared early in the Cape Dorset print collections: there was *Angels in the Moon* by Natsivaar in 1960 and *Fallen Angels* by Pannichiak in 1961. In the late 1960s Pudlo's interest in the formal possibilities of the angelic subject resulted in a series of drawings and several prints, *Arctic Angel* and *Winter Angel*, in 1969. But angels were not the only Christian subject to catch Pudlo's attention. His prints have also represented the *Ecclesiast*, 1969, the *Esi-gajuak* (Roman Catholic Father), 1973, and the *Arrival of the Prophet*, 1983. Christian motifs appear in non-Christian and even shamanistic prints too. In the *Long Journey* of 1974, Inuit figures wend their way along a winding path up the hill to a church. In both *The Igloo Builders* and *Thoughts of Home* from 1975 there is a small cross in the center between igloos and tents, and in the print *Shaman's Dwelling* of that same year a cross-like form rises above the central structure. In *The Seasons* of 1976 a cross flanked by two loons rises above the roof of a rounded building with a cross inside, possibly St Jude's Cathedral in nearby Frobisher Bay.

Pudlo's treatment of his Christian subjects is consistent with his overall artistic approach. Like secular or traditional religious subjects, they are drawn and redrawn as he works through the various forms or they are integrated in with other motifs as part of an image where visual effect not narrative accuracy is paramount. Even the prophet arrives in a brilliantly coloured helicopter; colours, balance of composition and helicopter subject all typically Pudlo. What may seem like disrespect is just common sense (and artistic licence) — after all everyone these days travels by plane and helicopter in the North.

In Pudlo's print *Shaman's Dwelling* a cross-like form is shown together with an igloo identified by the work's title as a shaman's dwelling. Kukiiyaut of Baker Lake, in a 1976 untitled drawing inspired by personal family



'Figure with Bible'. Carving in green stone, 1983, by Kiawak Ashoona (1933-) of Cape Dorset, who was recently converted to the Full Gospel Church. Collection of the West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative, Cape Dorset.

Leslie Boyd

history, shows her shaman grandfather and his two helping spirits confronted by an angel and Jesus Christ. Conjunction of Christian and shamanistic elements like this within one work is rare. While many artists represent both Christian and shamanistic subjects, they generally do so in separate works. Sculptor Marc Tungilik of Repulse Bay, for example, in a recent exhibition had individual works representing — among other subjects — a priest, angels, shamans and spirits.

Tungilik first started carving at the encouragement of Oblate missionaries. Father Franz van der Velde records how in 1945 he asked the artist to copy a small bust of Christ. The resulting ivory miniature now in the Eskimo Museum in Churchill shows the head of



'Simon of Cyrene'. Lithograph by Mark Emerak (1901-) of Holman Island, 1983. 50.5 x 39.5 cm. Reproduced by permission of the Holman Eskimo Co-operative, Holman Island.

Christ crowned with thorns. Depiction of Biblical figures such as this Christ or the early twentieth-century Christ and Madonna and Child from Chesterfield Inlet referred to earlier are not common and seem to result from requests rather than the artist's own initiative. Local clergy, community church buildings, Inuit worshippers and angels are much more prevalent. Contemporary works representing individual Biblical figures such as a carving of Mary Magdalene and one tentatively identified as the Madonna and Child by Irene Kataq of Repulse Bay and that of Moses by Kabubawakota of Cape Dorset are few in number. Kabubawakota's Moses is a dynamic, expressive figure in swirling robes, his long-fingered hands holding aloft the tablets, but often the carvings of Biblical personages seem remote and foreign presumably because many were done on request and as such may have been copied.

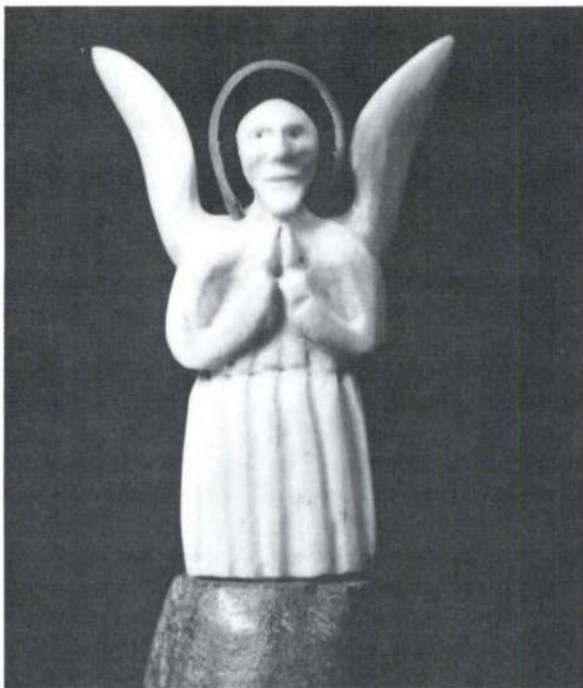
Artists depicting Christian subject matter may depend on standardized western prototypes, especially for Biblical individuals who are known to them through the illustrations provided in material such as religious comics, books and posters brought to the North. But depictions of subjects personally meaningful to them can be as expressive and effective as any of their work whatever the subject, as we have seen in the pieces by such artists as Attark, Ovilu Tunnillie and Kabubawakota. That the Christian subject is meaningful to the artists may result from visual variety and interest

(Pudlo), cultural concerns (Ovilu Tunnillie), personal associations (Attark), or religious conviction. While this latter quality is difficult to identify, some works definitely result from the artist's religious beliefs. In 1983 Kiawak Ashoona, a well-known Cape Dorset sculptor who regularly depicts traditional subjects, carved a sculpture of a *Figure with Bible*. On bended knee, the man holds high an open Bible on which are incised, in syllabics, passages from John (1:1-2; 3:5) and I Corinthians (2:21-22). Inspired by Kiawak's recent conversion to the Full Gospel Church the sculpture is full of energy and emotion; the figure upward thrusting, the clothing agitated, it is an impressive testament to Kiawak's faith in his new religion.

Kiawak's figure dressed in modern Inuit clothing, like the depictions of Inuit in church, clearly demonstrates the integration of Christianity into Inuit life. Their new religion is now culturally meaningful to people in a real and significant way. This is not to say that only the devout represent Christian subjects but that Christianity is now an important aspect of northern life. While we cannot presume to assess the artists' religious convictions, we can see that they have a thorough knowledge of their subject matter. And their depictions of these subjects, often interpreted in a very personal way, make the Christian incidents even more relevant to themselves as Christians in the Arctic. This is certainly obvious in a type of Christian representation we have not yet discussed, the depiction of specific Biblical episodes.

The 1983 Holman graphics collection included a print by Mark Emerak entitled *Simon of Cyrene*. Mentioned only in passing in three of the four Gospels as the man who helped Jesus carry His cross, Simon was not a major Biblical figure. But the episode — and its implications of a bystander (representative of mankind) helping the Saviour — is accorded the importance of a station in the Stations of the Cross. This devotion has never been depicted in prints from Holman or any other Inuit community, although Edith Iglauer in her book *Inuit Journey* mentions having seen photographs of sealskin tapestries from Holman, made under the supervision of Father Tardy, that illustrated the Last Supper and the Stations of the Cross. Father Tardy, an Oblate missionary, is a long-standing and important figure in the history of the community of Holman and its graphics program. Through him Emerak would have had access to religious information and illustrations, the source of inspiration for this print and other drawings he has done of Christian subjects.

But here Emerak's view of the episode is a decidedly personal one. On the one hand we have accuracy in the representation of Christ, a small bowed figure struggling with His cross, assisted by a powerful but gentle looking bearded Simon, as well as the use of religious symbolism in the two red orbs in the upper part of the image (the only bit of colour in this other-



'Angel'. Carving in grey-green stone, ivory and musk-ox horn by Marc Tungilik (1913-) of Repulse Bay, 1982. 7.3 x 4.0 x 2.5 cm. Collection of Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Reproduced by permission of the Naujat Co-operative, Repulse Bay.

wise black print) that surely represent the sun and the moon. These two heavenly bodies — significant in Inuit mythology — are standard symbols in Christian art indicating, in scenes of the Crucifixion, the sorrow of all creation at the death of Christ. On the other hand, we have some variations from the original version: the Saviour, on his way to be crucified already has the nail wounds in his hands — perhaps as a timeless attribute or to clearly identify Him in the scene; the dove overhead, if symbolic of the Holy Spirit as it usually is, is not associated with this episode — although it could be included here for additional symbolism; the figure in the foreground holding a rosary — a form of devotion not instituted until the thirteenth century — may play an auxiliary devotional role or simply represent a modern worshipper. Finally we also have the intrusion of some purely local influences: the figure to the right, surely a Roman soldier, carries an Inuit spear; all the figures are dressed in Inuit clothing, and the plump dove looks rather like a snowy owl. Clearly Emerak's image was not slavishly copied without thought from some religious manual. He has not only adapted a Biblical event into a setting and style typical of Inuit prints, but he has considerably enriched this deceptively simple-looking scene with various Christian elements and symbols.

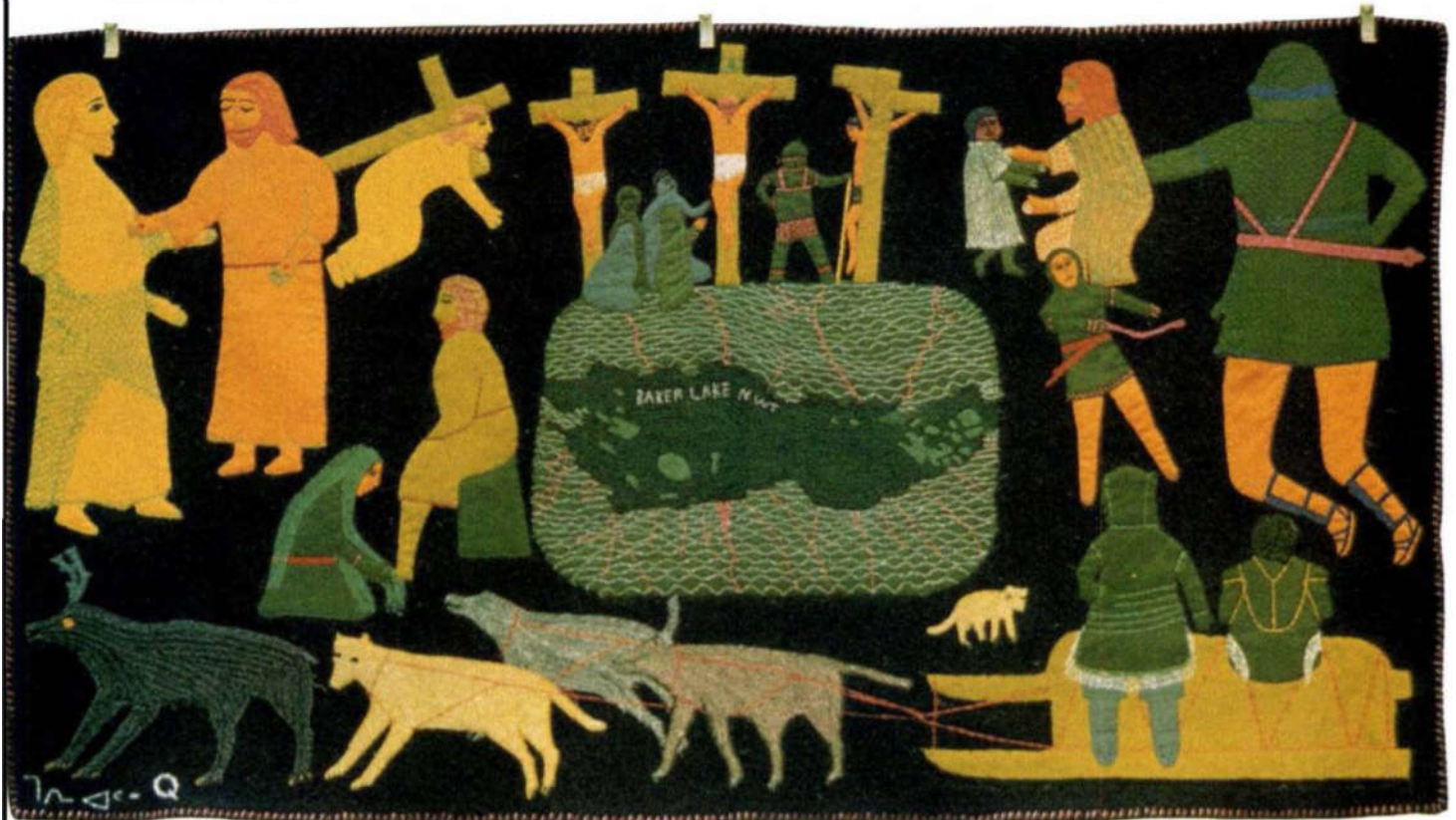
If Emerak has the people in his Christian scene wearing Inuit clothing, Nanorluk in a wall hanging made in 1976 seems to have moved Biblical events from the Holy Land to the shores of Baker Lake, N.W.T. Surrounding a map of the Baker Lake area are a number of Biblical episodes. Moving clockwise

from the mid-left these are: Mary Magdalene washing Christ's feet and drying them with her hair, Christ appearing after His Resurrection and showing the nail wounds in His hands to doubting Thomas, Christ carrying the cross, the Crucifixion, Jesus and the Child(ren), and David and Goliath. These events, from both the Old and New Testaments, are not presented in any particular order, but such is often the case in Inuit art in representations of other events such as traditional legends and stories. Artists, and storytellers for that matter, do not necessarily follow a chronological order or strict time sense in presenting the episodes making up their narrative (we could also apply this to Emerak's version of Simon of Cyrene).

Nor should we too literally interpret the central map in this wall hanging, showing in some detail Baker Lake with its islands and tributary streams. Certainly several of the mourners at the Crucifixion actually overlap the edge of the map. But in view of Nanorluk's general style and on the basis of works by her and other Baker Lake seamstresses in which maps or Baker Lake souvenir medallions are shown in conjunction with other subjects, it is probable that the map is not identifying the location of the Biblical events. The two may not be unrelated, however; perhaps the artist is formulating an association between Christian worship and her native area, establishing Christianity within the context of modern Inuit life. This would tie in with the participation of the Inuit couple in the lower right who, having stopped their dog sled, their backs to us, intently observe the Biblical events taking place in front of them.

In contrast to the Emerak print where all the figures are dressed in Inuit clothing but, like so many contemporary prints, no landscape setting is indicated, Nanorluk suggests a pictorial space by the arrangement of scenes and the orientation of the Inuit couple. In addition she has represented the people and their clothes in a fashion consistent with reality or standard religious illustration. The Inuit couple is dressed in parkas; the Biblical figures wear robes, tunics and loin cloths — Goliath even has a pair of lace-up sandals. While the faces of the two Inuit are not visible, the faces of the Biblical figures are Caucasian, and Christ has long flowing hair and a beard.

Another Baker Lake artist, in fact Nanorluk's mother Jessie Oonark, has done a number of works related to Christianity. One of these, a print in the 1984 Baker Lake collection, shows Christ on the cross. To either side of Him, on a bold ground line midway up the image, are two figures; one kneels while the other, a Roman, drives a nail into Christ's hand. Below stand six mourners touching the Saviour's feet and weeping in despair. The Roman and the mourners are all dressed in Inuit clothing. A devotional-like piece, the title of the print identifies Christ as the *Giver of Life*.



'Untitled'. Wall hanging in wool, felt and embroidery floss by Miriam Nanorluk (1933-) of Baker Lake, 1976. No measurements. Collection unknown. Reproduced by permission of the Sanavik Co-operative, Baker Lake.

In a drawing of *The Last Supper* Oonark's depiction of clothing, facial features and beards of the figures as well as the setting with background draperies and a Roman column show little Inuit influence, but more often she combines Inuit and Christian figures or motifs. Sometimes the integration of the two makes it difficult to identify the subject with certainty. This mixing of imagery and content is not unusual in the work of prolific, creative artists like Oonark who follow their visual instincts and seemingly unconsciously depict a tremendous range of subjects from the everyday to the spiritual, from traditional to western.

Oonark's monumental (over four by six metres) wall hanging in the National Arts Centre in Ottawa, for example, illustrated and discussed in Peter Mellen's book *Landmarks of Canadian Art*, combines traditional and Christian motifs. In the midst of a richly varied scene of traditional Inuit life is a central figure that 'probably represents an angel, or the Virgin, with the other figures bowed down in worship around her.' Another Oonark wall hanging, now in the collection of the Art Gallery of Ontario, shows Inuit figures, abstract shapes and what appears to be Moses with the tablets. The central figure in the upper rectangular area, Moses holds the tablets above rounded mounds

that may symbolize Mount Sinai. Attention is focused on him by the use of colour, the orientation of the figures on either side of him and the placement of the shapes and heraldic dogs above. The figure of Moses is echoed by a figure immediately below him who stands on top of an arch. A typical Christian form, the arch holds four kneeling figures symmetrically arranged on either side of a column of triangular shapes. The format and upward movement of this scene are reminiscent of those representations in religious paintings showing deceased Biblical and saintly figures carried up to heaven by angelic escorts. In addition the triangular shapes line up with and lead to the figure on top of the arch and through him to Moses above, establishing a strong central and hierarchical relationship.

The Christian interpretation of untitled works such as this wall hanging is suggested by the content and format of the actual work, comparison with titled works, and recognition of the fact that Oonark is a devout Christian. She has done religious works on her own initiative as well as those she has been commissioned to do. Oonark was one of the Canadian artists asked to illustrate the Sunday Mass Book published by the Canadian Catholic Conference of Bishops in 1976. Her drawing *Waiting for the Lord* shows Christ, His body

'Untitled'. Wall hanging in wool, felt and embroidery floss, by Jessie Oonark (1906-) of Baker Lake, c. 1974. 212.0 x 144.0 cm. Collection of Art Gallery of Ontario. Reproduced by permission of the Sanavik Co-operative, Baker Lake.



James Chambers

positioned as though on the cross, seemingly weightlessly suspended above a group of people; in the mid-upper right is an angel.

Commissions such as this account for some of the religious art made by Inuit artists, but even more significant in recent years is church encouragement, and Inuit initiative, in decorating local churches, especially within the last 30 years or so, as more and more communities have acquired permanent buildings and as the Inuit have become increasingly active participants in their local church affairs. Religious art is one of the few types of contemporary art that the Inuit make for themselves and keep in the North. Churches may be adorned with wall hangings, woven tapestries, sealskin altar cloths and floor coverings, ivory crosses, soapstone fonts and carvings, even, at St Edmunds Anglican church in Great Whale River, an oil painting (showing Peter faltering as he walks on the water) — all made by local Inuit.

The richness, variety and creativeness of church decoration is exemplified by St Jude's Cathedral in Frobisher Bay. Here in an igloo-shaped structure, two sleds in the traditional style turned on edge serve as Communion rails; another sled, standing on end, acts as pulpit, the microphone is concealed behind a harpoon head; woven grass baskets serve as collection plates; two narwhal tusks form the cross over the altar; six wall hangings act as dossal curtains behind the altar. The hangings, made by seamstresses in (moving from left to right) Eskimo Point, Coppermine, Povungnituk, Igloolik, Baker Lake and Inukjuak, are full of traditional Inuit and Christian subjects and symbols. In an article in a 1972 issue of *The Arctic News* devoted to the subject of the new cathedral, some of the women explained the significance of their panels. The hangings illustrate Christianity in the North with images of specific meaning and symbolism. For example, in the Povungnituk panel the dog-team shows that Inuit



St Jude's Cathedral in Frobisher Bay, 1984.



St John's Anglican Church, Cape Dorset, 1978.

used to go long distances to understand about the faith, the rainbow shows the love of God (God's covenant to Noah), and the flowers relate to growing in faith like a flower. In the Igloodik panel, people from different places and in different dress demonstrate that 'God placed His servants in different places, all belong to one God'.

Finally no discussion of Christianity in the Arctic would be complete without mentioning Christmas. Christmas has become as popular in the North as it is in the South. In the old days there was sufficient ice and snow cover by December to travel by dog sled and people could again go to the closest trading post and mission — the two institutions often being located at the same place. Missionaries usually made an event of the occasion. Reverend Peck at the mission station on Blacklead Island in recording the Christmas of 1895 tells how a large number of Eskimos gathered at the mission for celebrations lasting over a period of several days. There were services, a 'magic lantern lecture'

'Merry Christmas'. Carving in red and grey stone by Simon Qamanirq (1953-) of Arctic Bay, c. 1965. 7.5 x 8.0 x 0.6 cm. Collection of Images Art Gallery Inc., Toronto. Reproduced by permission of Simon Qamanirq, Arctic Bay.



Michael Neill

showing scenes from Christ's life, and the distribution of prizes to children for school attendance, behaviour and cleanliness. In addition, gifts were exchanged, refreshments provided and a Christmas tree (made from the hoops of a flour barrel and decorated with coloured paper) displayed.

Peter Pitseolak in recording the history of people in his area tells of gathering in Cape Dorset to celebrate Christmas with dances and races on the ice. Robert Flaherty, the film maker, spent the Christmas of 1915 on the Belcher Islands. His group's party, with Santa Claus, gramophone music and a Christmas tree made of spruce boughs (brought from Great Whale River) decorated with brightly labelled empty fruit cans, was attended by local Inuit including one Wetalltok who recorded the event in a drawing now in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto. A more recent Inuit artist, Simon Qamanirq of Arctic Bay, has done his own version of a Christmas greeting card. A thin slab of stone, incised on both sides, shows Santa with his pack and a Christmas tree with a gift-wrapped present beneath. Phonetically spelled out in syllabics — the system of writing originally introduced by the missionaries — is 'Merry Christmas'. ♦



Terra Mines

by D.M. Treilhard

The author, a graduate in history from Concordia University in Montreal, is an underground miner at Con Mine in Yellowknife. A columnist for 'News North' he is working on a book manuscript 'Miners' Lives'.

Photographs are by M.G. Treilhard.

An aerial view of the Camsell River in the Northwest Territories and, below, Terra Mines Ltd and the Company's DC3 at the Yellowknife airport.

THE SILVER properties of Terra Mines Ltd are located on the banks of the Camsell River, a few miles from the eastern shore of Great Bear Lake in the Northwest Territories. It is one of Canada's most northerly mines. Only two others lie farther to the north. These are Nanisivik — near Arctic Bay on Baffin Island, and Cominco's Polaris mine on Little Cornwallis Island in the Arctic Ocean.

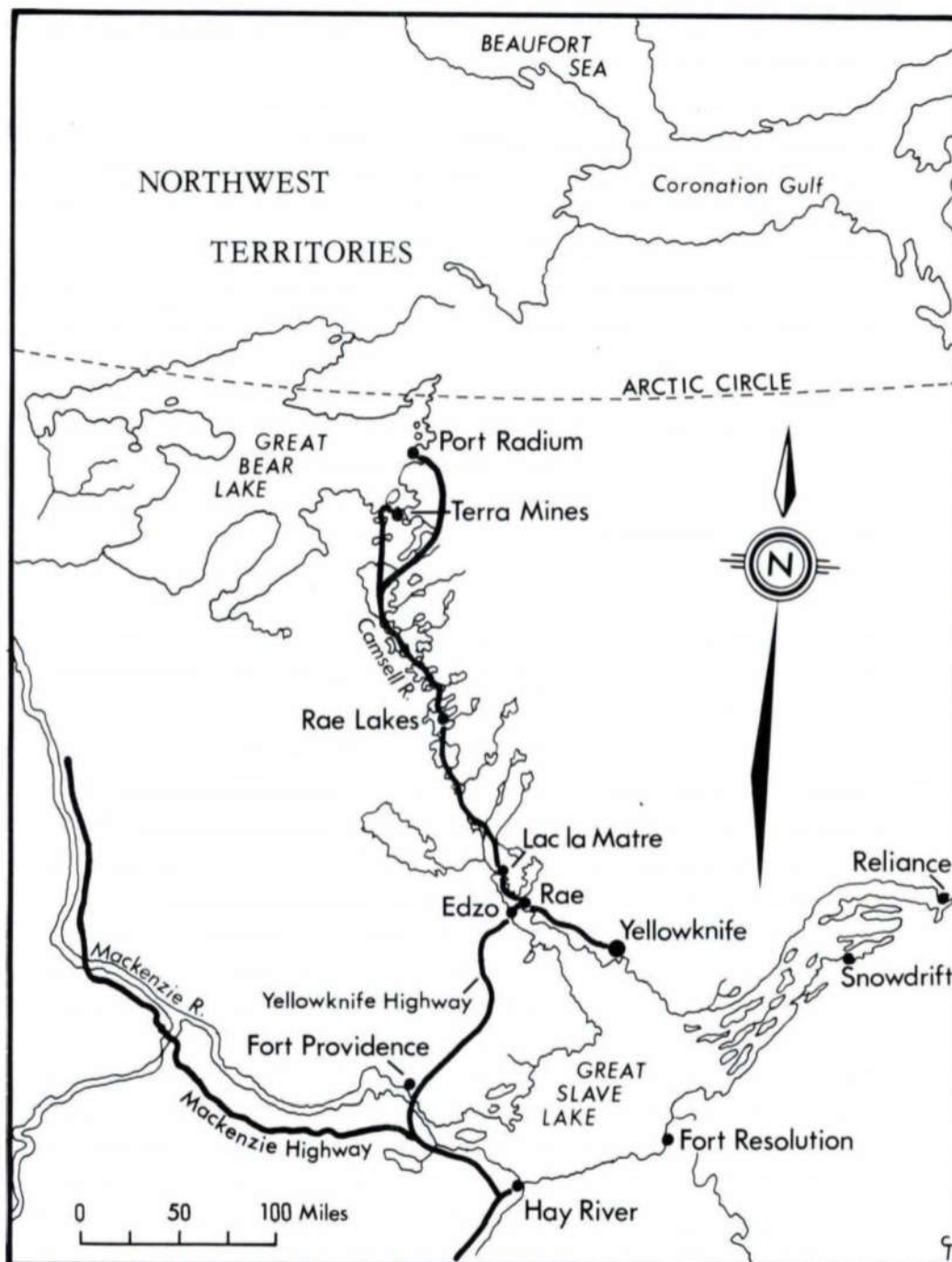
The Camsell River area is typical of the Precambrian Shield, with a topographical relief of a few hundred feet. There is an abundance of water, along with muskeg and glacial till. Vegetation consists of spruce, pine, larch and birch.

Like the now-closed Echo Bay Mine, Terra operates near the site of the old Eldorado Mine which reputedly produced the uranium used in building the world's first atomic bombs. Gilbert Labine's discovery of the Eldor-

ado mine in 1930 sparked a staking rush which was important in the development of the whole Mackenzie District.

Interested in locating further deposits of uranium, Eldorado Mining and Refining staked a wide area which included the present-day Terra Mines property. When its diamond drilling program failed to detect adequate quantities of the ore in the vicinity of the Camsell River, the company allowed its claims to lapse. At this juncture two Yellowknife prospectors — Carl Sutton and Ernie Holstein — staked the property. While the ground was poor in uranium, there was evidence of significant silver deposits. Then in 1966, the Terra Mining and Exploration Company obtained the property and proceeded to 'prove-up' its potential as a silver mine.

On getting encouraging results from the exploration



Terra's problem of transporting ore to the refinery is solved in part by the use of ice-road trucking in the winter months. The low-grade ore is hauled south over frozen lakes to the Mackenzie Highway, Edmonton and from there to the Cominco refinery at Trail, British Columbia. High-grade ore is taken out by air to Yellowknife, and then by truck to Trail.

program, the company built camp and milling facilities during 1969 and 1970. Despite a fire which partially destroyed the site in 1970, the mine began operating at a profit by 1971. In the subsequent ten-year period, it has produced more than 12 million ounces of silver.

Like all northern mines operating in isolated regions, one of Terra's greatest difficulties has been that of transportation. While Nanisivik and Polaris farther to the north can make use of ocean-going vessels to move their freight during the short arctic shipping season, Terra has no such recourse. Instead, it relies on ice-road trucking during the winter months, and on air transport the year around.

The company has its own DC-3 airplane which is based in Yellowknife. The craft makes three routine flights a week to and from the mine carrying passengers, mail, and diverse supplies. The DC-3 is not known for its speed. Filled with all manner of freight, it takes roughly one and a half hours to make the trip one way — which is approximately the same flying time required for that work-horse of the North — the twin otter.

On the flight north from Yellowknife, the traveller can see little more than a vast expanse of rock and water. Numberless lakes and meandering rivers convert the land into just so many clusters of islands — points of land which show signs of heavy scarring by glacial action in past ages.

From the cockpit, the mine site becomes visible several minutes before arrival. Dropping low between the pine-covered shoulders of a valley, the cluster of white buildings slip by as the plane lands on a 5,000-foot runway which is bounded by a steep hill on one side and a lake on the other. As the plane taxis to a halt at the beginning of the runway, several trucks arrive to unload it and ferry the passengers into camp.

The camp consists of a half-dozen bunkhouses, now occupied by about 80 men and three women. The mine office is found in a nondescript two-storey building, while a short distance away a corrugated iron structure contains the mill. From the mill, a dirt road curves around the side of the hill and vanishes into a large underground cavern which has been tunneled out beneath the camp site to accommodate the machine shop.

The focal point of this little community is the recreation hall and the cookhouse which are found under the same roof in the centre of the camp. Outside the building sits that omnipresent fixture of all present-day bush camps — a satellite dish which feeds the signals from various American movie channels to the television which is on 24 hours a day in its recess in the recreation hall. Enter the television room any evening after dinner, and you will find most of the day shift gazing in numbed silence at the flickering screen. In another corner you might see a handful of men playing billiards or sitting in on a game of cribbage or checkers.

Generally, the atmosphere in the camp is subdued. This is understandable, given that everyone works twelve hours a day, seven days a week, and that leaves little time or energy for play. Even were the men inclined in that direction, opportunities for recreation and entertainment are very limited. During the summers, some of the men may fish in the surrounding rivers and lakes, and occasionally may wangle a free ride on a visiting bush plane. But during the winter months life becomes somewhat grimmer. Frigid temperatures confine men indoors, and should they venture outside they are confronted by a world which is little more than a black and white sketch; the fluorescent orange markers on the airstrip are the only colour to meet their eyes.

Today, employees will work for a month on the site, after which they are flown out as far as Edmonton and receive a month of paid holidays before they return for their next period of work. Thus, for each day 'in', they receive one day of paid leave. This arrangement has been a marked improvement over the previous system which required that all non-staff employees sign a four-month contract, while the staff would receive only 14 days leave for each 80 days at the mine site. Understandably, work performance and organization deteriorated under those conditions.

When the four-month contract was the rule, the mine had a highly unstable crew consisting largely of single, itinerant males. In effect, the mine had three crews at any one time — one coming, one working, and another going. Many of the employees could not endure the four months of isolation and frequently quit long before their contracts were complete. Though those who broke their contracts were often classified as 'not for rehire', it was not uncommon for them to return again perhaps six months later, having taken and left three other jobs in the interim. This was possible owing to a labour shortage in the 1970s.

Many of the itinerant miners who composed the work-force in those days had serious problems with alcohol. A number of them were notorious for requiring three to four days of rest after they returned from leave to recover from the ravages of their latest excesses in the city. Under the new system and new management, these men have been weeded out because — as one old-timer explained — 'When you hire on now, you're expected to start work right away, not to shudder and shake around the countryside for three or four days.'

Another problem that developed owing to the once prolonged stays in camp was that many of the men became 'bushed' long before they were due for vacation. Though this condition is the subject of many a light-hearted story when northerners get together, it is in reality seriously debilitating for the individual suffering from it.

A person becomes bushed when he is too long divorced from his normal environment, and receives only limited and unvaried stimuli. Once he has been subjected to these conditions for a period of time, he loses his sense of perspective and his emotional and mental flexibility. Thus, as one long-time employee described it, half the personnel in the camp were 'screaming mad' by the end of their contracts.

This had practical repercussions on the functioning of the mine itself. Not infrequently, men would fail to behave in a rational or practical manner. For instance, oil would not be changed in machines until the motor blew up, or spare parts would not be on hand to keep neglected — but essential — machinery running. One of the more dramatic examples of the careless behaviour of some men under the former system was recounted to me by Dave Alton — currently a supervisor of the mill.

He told of one occasion when 'a ski plane landed on Jackfish Lake during the winter, and somebody went out to meet it in a jeep. The back wheels of the jeep broke through the ice — so someone rushed back to camp to get this army 6 x 6 truck to pull the jeep out. Well, of course, they lost the 6 x 6 entirely — it just disappeared. Then some fool — still intent on rescuing the jeep — ran back to get the John Deere loader. Luckily, someone stopped him before he got out there and lost that machine too.'

To finish the story, the jeep was pulled free by hand, while the truck was eventually salvaged two years later virtually unscathed. Because low water temperatures had inhibited the oxidation process, the truck had been little damaged by rust and was operating again within 24 hours of its recovery.

The man who undertook the salvage job was Hugh Arden — a legendary character in the territories. He first came to the district on a prospecting trip in 1932. In the years since he has become the one more or less permanent resident of the area. He prospects during the summer, traps in the winter, and undertakes odd jobs for the mine regardless of the season. But he is best known for his work on the ice roads.

The ice road which connects Terra with the Mackenzie Highway at Rae is built on the frozen surfaces of the many lakes and rivers which lace the region. After the first one was built in 1964, Hugh rapidly became the leading authority on their construction. The road melts each spring and must be rebuilt each winter. Approximately 325 miles long, it is an essential factor in making Terra an economically sound operation in that it allows the company to move freight to and from the mine at a relatively low cost.

The road is built in January of each year, once river and lake ice have reached the requisite 15-inch-minimum thickness required to support the weight of loaded trailer trucks. During the ensuing three months, the

bulk of the mine's silver concentrate is trucked out to the Mackenzie Highway, where it is transferred to another carrier and taken south to the smelter in Trail, B.C.. Though some supplies are also brought to Terra by Hercules aircraft and by the DC-3, much of that freight — ranging from mining equipment and building materials to fuels and groceries — comes in over the ice roads.

Operating heavy equipment on river and lake ice is hazardous work. During the three-month trucking season it is not unusual for vehicles to break through the ice as often as half a dozen times. On New Year's Day, 1982, one long-time employee of the mine lost his life while opening a road on the Camsell River. Though he had years of experience on the job, he encountered some thin ice and plunged to his death in 85 feet of water, still trapped within the cab.

Terra's isolated northerly location presents it with singular problems unknown to mines farther south. The ice roads are a daring solution to their transportation difficulties, and the shortened contract period has largely solved high employee turnover and has increased productivity. The peculiar nature of the ore bodies being mined presents the company with further problems.

Terra has three mines on its Camsell River property. These are the Silver Bear, Norex and Smallwood Mines. Only the Silver Bear and Norex are producing ore. In them, a system of narrow, high-grade veins are being mined. These veins average 6 inches to 8 inches in width, but in places may widen to as much as thirty feet or disappear altogether. The unpredictable character of the ore body has made determining the life expectancy of the mine little more than a matter of guesswork. Rumours of the imminent closure of the mine have long been a topic of conversation in the camp. In a period of wildly fluctuating metal prices, the uncertain nature of the silver deposits merely compounds the problem of long-term planning faced by the company.

For the men who work here, the future of the mine has become a concern ever more important to them. The economic depression has caused the closure of many mines throughout Canada. While most of Terra's employees could be confident of finding work elsewhere as late as 1980, they are conscious that this is no longer possible. Today, the carefree 'tramp miner' is a thing of the past. The men at Terra are a sober-minded crew working to protect their positions in one of the last bush camps in the Northwest Territories.

◆

The author would like to acknowledge the assistance of P.H. Cheesbrough, vice-president, of Terra Mines Ltd, The Canada Council, and the Royal Canadian Geographical Society, in making this article possible.

*A miner at work in the Terra Mines, and below,
refuelling a Beaver bush plane fitted with pontoons.*

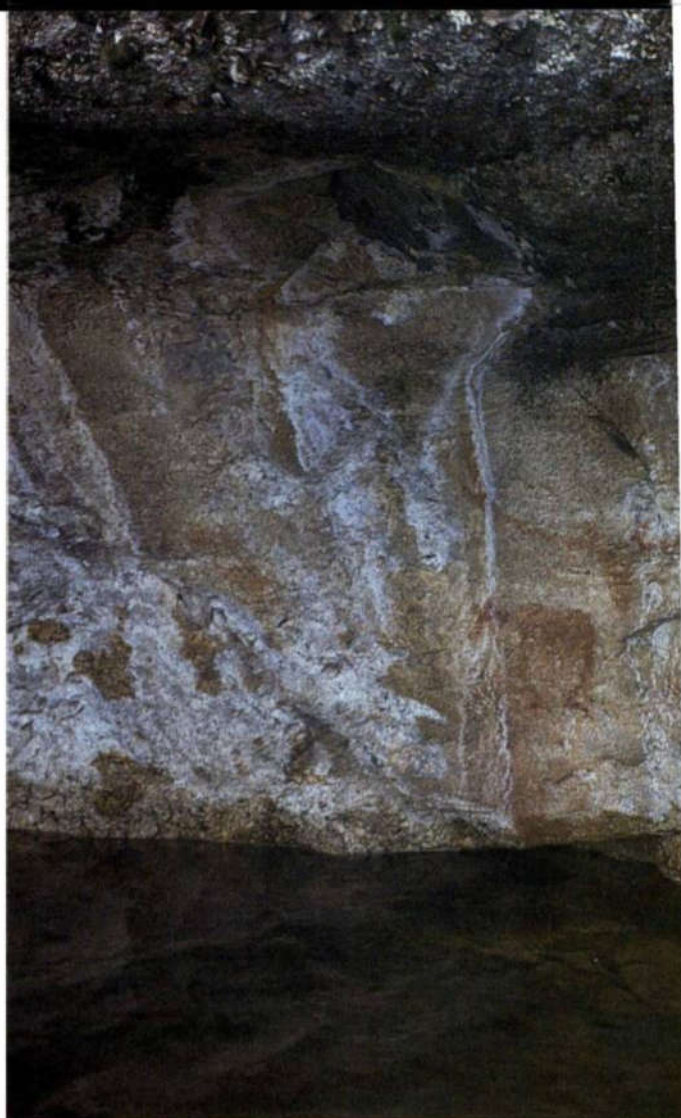
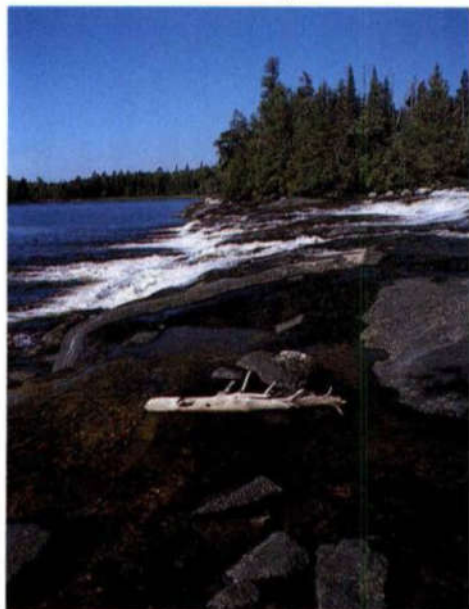


High-grade silver ore.

The Quetico Heritage

By Martha Stradiotto

Snake Falls rushing down to Keats Lake.



THIS YEAR — 1984 — marks seventy-five years of co-operative wilderness management between the administrators of Quetico Provincial Park in south-western Ontario and Superior National Forest in Minnesota. The two regions share an international border as a boundary; without united effort towards preservation, each sanctuary would be vulnerable. The victory of the struggle to maintain this wilderness area belongs to conservation-minded citizens who have assisted in securing this segment of Canada's natural and cultural heritage.

The modern voyageur venturing along the waterways of the two regions is impressed by the spread of wilderness (Quetico, 1,175,773 acres; Superior National Forest, 1,030,000 acres) and the pattern of lakes and rivers. The fifteen hundred kilometres of water routes have served as pathways for generations of peoples. This system, flowing west to Rainy Lake, forged an important link between the Great Lakes and the prairies for native tribes, voyageurs and settlers. To paddle the Quetico is to trace a mysterious past.

The name 'Quetico' is a mystery in itself. Though various theories exist, it is most commonly believed to be an Ojibwa appellation. Loosely translated, the Quetico is the benevolent spirit dwelling in regions of great beauty.

Perhaps in reverence to this spirit, rock paintings known as pictographs were sketched on the steep rock cliffs lining the shores of many Quetico lakes. Pictographs have been discovered across North America; the number of sites in Quetico — thirty — is a significant concentration. They are simple drawings though important in meaning, for they depict the moose, the canoe, and other aspects of native culture.

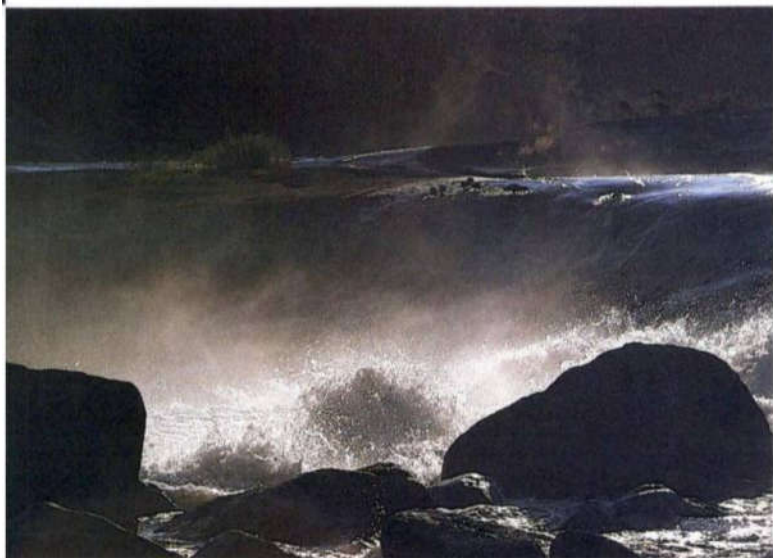
Several hundred years after the artists outlined the drawings from their delicate perches in canoes, the paintings can still be appreciated. They have endured, in part, because of their location; they are usually found under protective overhangs of craggy rock. The paint used had a base of fish oil and red ochre, a durable combination.

Quetico's granite cliffs are ancient reminders that

Martha Stradiotto and her husband, John, are authors of the guidebook 'Discovering Ontario's Parks'. Photographs are by the Stradiottos.



Pictographs on Quetico Lake tell an enduring story.



*Morning mist rises from Chatterton Falls.
Spider web heavy with dew at Deux Rivières and water-lilies on Allan Creek.*





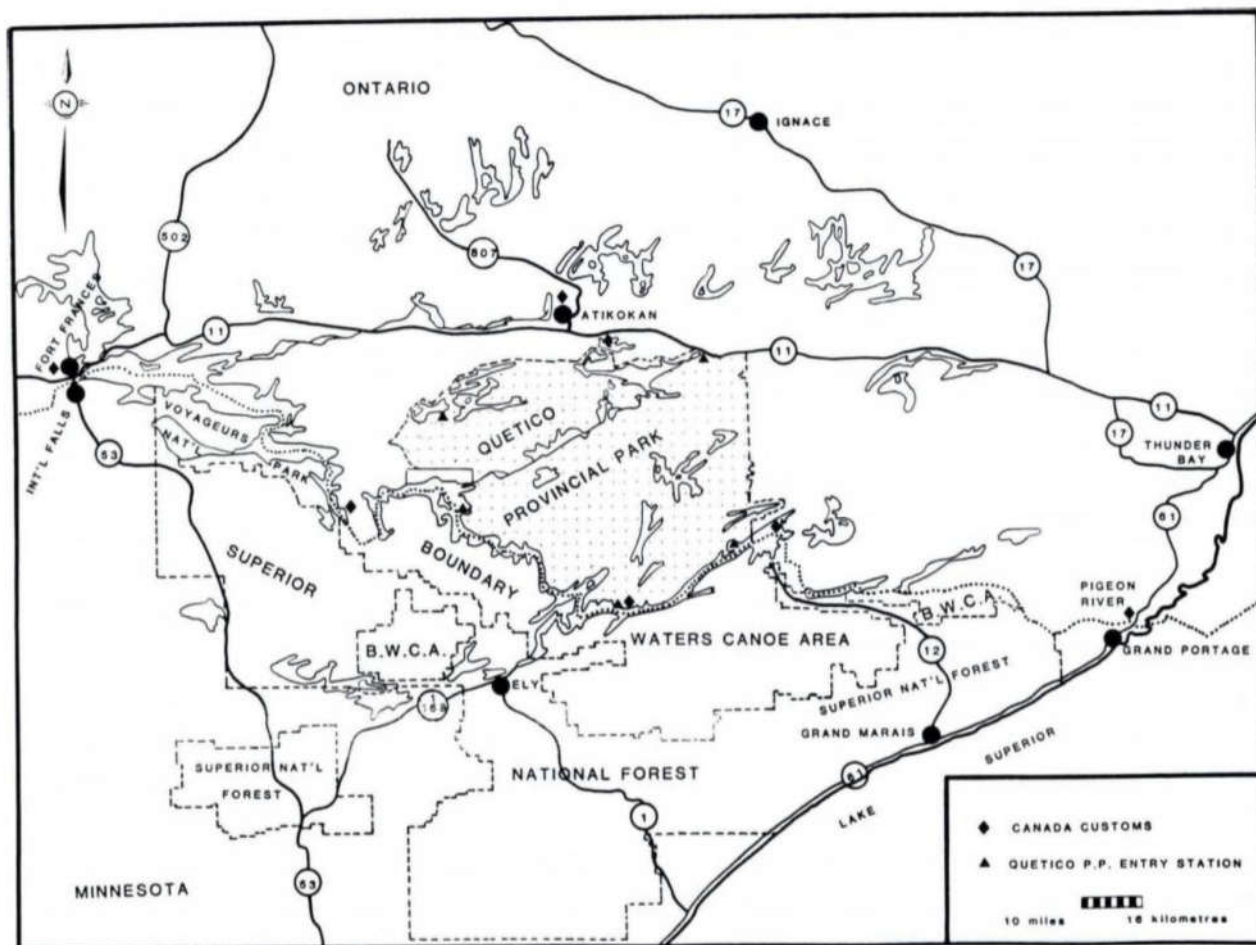
Waves of snow across the ice on Batchewaung Lake.



Mergansers, Pickerel Lake, and (upper left) a family of moose on the shore of McKenzie Bay.



Vivid orange lichen (left) brightens a rock cliff hung with snow and ice.



In 1909 Quetico Provincial Park in the province of Ontario and Superior National Forest in the state of Minnesota were established by their respective governments. This year commemorates seventy-five years of international co-operation in a wilderness and resource management program that reserves over two million acres of land along 240 kilometres of the international boundary for canoeing and hiking.



Ernest C. Oberholtzer of Minnesota (right) who fought to preserve the Quetico-Superior wilderness and native traditions, with his travelling companion, Billy Magee, 1932.



The boiler from a Dawson Trail steam engine is recovered from the Maligne River in Quetico Park, 1911. Bert Locke sits in the bow of the canoe carrying the boiler; Colonel Douglas Young, Superintendent of Quetico from 1911 to 1913, occupies the middle of the canoe; R. E. Readman guides the boat from the stern.

From the Darby Collection, Courtesy of the Ontario
 Ministry of Natural Resources, Quetico Historical Files.

the area is part of the Canadian shield. Thin layers of acidic and nutrient-poor soils cover most of the area, discouraging luxuriant growth: the vast majority of forest species are typical of the boreal forests to the north. Though the shores are bordered with aristocratic red and white pine, stands of ragged black spruce and jack pine rising from a floor of green moss are dominant. Quetico also embraces the mixed forests to the south and the southeast, and to the west, those of the Great Plains. For this reason, the region supports some plants more often found to the west: alum root, smooth sumach, and basswood.

For the most part, Quetico's wildlife is typical of the northern boreal forest: the weasel, red squirrel, varying hare, red fox, beaver, moose, and timber wolf. Birds are plentiful and visible to the wilderness traveller. The bald eagle, osprey, and great blue heron nest in the area. Along the shores, common mergansers paddle in regimental rows, and loons dive and give their eerie calls.

To the native peoples, the Quetico was home; to the fur brigades it was but a passage to the east or west. Until the early 1900s, Europeans persisted in this view of the region.

In 1857, a survey party was formed to establish a westward route from Lake Superior to the prairies. Although Simon Dawson, the chief surveyor for the party, recommended a northern path involving a series of canals, he was instructed to clear a route along the old voyageur path, from Lac des Mille Lacs, to French Portage, and through Sturgeon Lake to Lac la Croix. The work was underway in 1870 when Colonel Garnet Wolseley's battalion arrived enroute to the Red River area to quell the first Riel Rebellion. During their passage, the Quetico terrain proved difficult for the transport of war machinery, and pieces of cannons and other equipment were discarded. The remains of a barge, complete with rusting chains, can still be seen at the upper end of the Deux Rivières Portage, in Doré Lake, partly obscured by the lodge of a beaver.

When completed in 1874, the Dawson Trail was an arduous route spanning five hundred miles, and comprising seventeen segments bridging land and water. Pioneer families bound for the Red River settlement travelled along it by stage-coach, steamboat, canoe, York boat, steam tug, Red River cart, and barge. Eight years later, the settlers moved west in the shelter of the Canadian Pacific Railway trains, and bypassed the Quetico entirely.

The Quetico escaped the boom period between 1880 and 1910, though surrounded on all sides by commercial development. To the east, silver was discovered; to the west, gold was found at Mine Centre. Atikokan, immediately to the north of Quetico, had deposits of iron, and some of the forest lands of Minnesota fell to the lumberman's axe. When the busy camps demanded

fresh meat to feed their workers, professional hunters supplied them with moose.

Moose were also being destroyed by poachers who claimed their antlers as trophies and left the remainder of the animal behind. This waste alarmed W. A. Preston then member of the provincial parliament for Rainy River and, together with journalist Arthur Hawkes and the support of the North American Game and Fish Protection Association, he appealed to the Ontario Government to create a sanctuary for the moose. Across the border, the American public expressed a similar desire to preserve land along the boundary and in 1909 the Superior National Forest was established to the south, and the Quetico Forest Reserve to the north. Four years later, an order-in-council altered the status of Quetico from reserve to provincial park.

Battles to maintain the wilderness region have been fought since the park's inception and continue to flare. Rangers wintered in log cabins within Quetico's boundaries and patrolled the area for poachers; in the summer months, they paddled canoes loaded with fire-fighting equipment.

Other threats were opposed by citizens' leagues. One formidable organization, the Quetico-Superior Council, was led by a Minnesotan, Ernest C. Oberholtzer, who had become familiar with the region through his canoe trips with an Ojibwa companion, Billy Magee from Mine Centre, Ontario. Oberholtzer's respect for the lifestyle and beliefs of the Ojibwa people and his love for the waters of the North, compelled him to lead the fight for the preservation of the Quetico-Superior regions. He and others of similar mind fought the dams planned by Minnesota lumberman E. W. Backus; these would have drastically altered the shorelines of the boundary lakes.

During the 1970s, conservation groups gathered to curtail logging operations in the Quetico, and to further define its protected status. A Quetico Park Advisory Committee held numerous public hearings and their findings led them to recommend that the park be granted primitive (now wilderness) status. In June 1973, Ontario Minister of Natural Resources Leo Bernier announced that Quetico had indeed been reclassified as a primitive park and henceforth would be defended from commercial exploitation. Subsequent regulations banned the use of cans, bottles and motorized vehicles; and quotas were placed on the number of visitors travelling through the area. The quota for the Quetico is 75 parties per day with a maximum party size of nine — to be reduced to 6 in 1985. The Superior National Forest in Minnesota allows 400 parties each day with a limit of ten to each party.

The wilderness that canoeists see today is virtually unchanged from the days when unknown Indian artists sketched pictographs and voyageurs travelled through in birch-bark canoes bound for the western plains. ♦

Pootoogook

By Margery Hinds

Miss Hinds taught in arctic schools in the early years of the northern education program. She is author of 'Makpa' and 'School House in the Arctic'.

Photographs are by the author c.1955.

THROUGHOUT THE GREATER PART of his lifetime, Pootoogook's name was known to almost every resident of the Eastern Arctic. The Inuit knew him to be an excellent and fearless hunter and the leader of the best camp — one where no one ever starved or was allowed to be lazy. The white residents knew him to be a thoroughly reliable and highly intelligent guide and assistant.

I first heard about Pootoogook in 1950, soon after I arrived in the Eastern Arctic with the assignment to attend to welfare problems and to teach both children and adults. Although I was across Hudson Strait at Port Harrison in northern Quebec, the Inuit knew of Pootoogook and his camp at Ekekerisak in the Cape Dorset area of Baffin Island. (Only after I had made considerable progress in learning the language did I learn that the Inuktitut word 'pootoogook' means 'big toe'.)

Soon after I moved to Cape Dorset in 1954, I became personally acquainted with Pootoogook — though even before I met him I realized from conversations with the Inuit that they all had great respect for him. When I mentioned this to Inuktaa — the name the Inuit had given Father Trinel, the Oblate missionary who spoke Inuktitut fluently and was extremely well acquainted with the people — he said, 'That's no surprise seeing that they're all related to him in one way or another. Pootoogook's father had four wives and sixteen children.'

As a result of that conversation and my saying it would be interesting to have a sort of family tree of that Inuit family, Inuktaa, little by little, through conversations with the people, traced Pootoogook's family history back to his grandfather, Etidlooe.

Written records of early Inuit life are rare. The only style of writing known to the Inuit when Pootoogook was young was the syllabic script introduced by the Reverend E. J. Peck in the late 1800s. Official registration of the Inuit began in the early 1940s when

each individual's name and date of birth were registered, and a disc bearing the official registered name of that individual was issued. Not until the late 1950s did the Inuit begin to have family names.

The registrars wrote the names as best they could, for there was no standard way of transposing syllabics to Roman characters. Thus, two individuals bearing identical names might be officially recorded with different spellings. Pootoogook was mentioned in reports of explorers and naturalists who used his services but seldom was his name written Pootoogook, as the registrar recorded it. For instance, Dewey Soper, in *Canadian Arctic Recollections* wrote it as Putaguk and also as Patagook when reporting the expedition of 1929.

According to the records, Etidlooe had three sons; Inukjuardjuk, the third son, had four wives. Pootoogook, the oldest child of Inukjuardjuk's fourth wife was born 9 May 1888 and Pitsiolak, the fourth wife's youngest child was born 2 September 1902. The second wife's daughter, Eleeshashee, was born 9 June 1896 and the third wife's son, Shooovegor was born 30 January 1904. If these official dates are correct, Pootoogook's father must have had at least three wives all at the same time. This is a subject I was never able to discuss with Pootoogook or his brother, Pitsiolak.

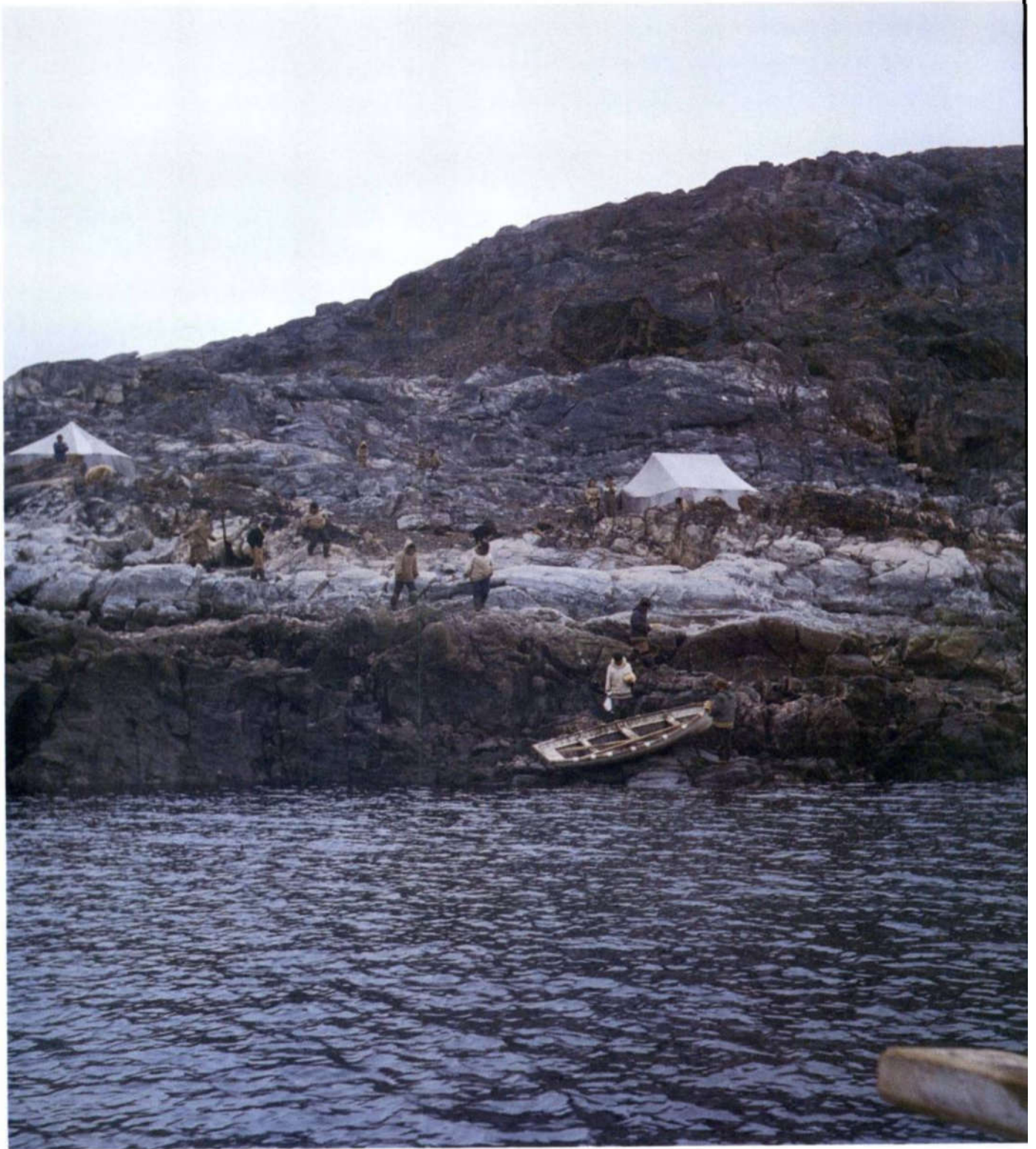
Pootoogook's camp was the cleanest and best organized camp in the whole area; no one there ever went hungry. That was mainly because Pootoogook knew the best places to hunt at various times of the year, depending on the kind of game that was in season. No one in Pootoogook's camp dared to return from hunting with absolutely nothing. The least he could bring in was something to burn in Pootoogook's kitchen stove; or something to carve — a piece of soapstone or old bone.

The Hudson's Bay Company post manager at Cape Dorset, Norman Ross, had a similar rule: 'nothing for nothing', which meant that a person who came to the

Forty years ago Pootoogook, 'King of Baffin Island', ruled the best camp in the Eastern Arctic — one where no one ever starved or was allowed to be lazy.



Pootoogook and his wife, Ningeeookooloo with their son Kanangena (left) and his wife Shooyoo. Another son Pudlat stands on the right. A grandson who lived with Pootoogook stands in the foreground. Miss Hinds took this photograph at Pootoogook's request. He planned to send it to his son Solomonie, who died in the hospital in Hamilton before the film could be processed.



Pootoogook's boat arrives at Amadjuak, site of the H B C experiment with reindeer from Lapland, 1921-1923. The crew went ashore first, then returned for the author who visited the outlying camps to teach and assist with welfare.



Pitsiolak, brother of Pootoogook, with his wife Aggio.

store with nothing to trade would receive nothing. The manager knew that everyone could bring something, even if it was only a small carving. Long before the idea of developing a handicrafts industry had occurred to anyone, the Company accepted carvings as trade. I often wondered whether Pootoogook's idea about not returning empty-handed from a hunt was taken from the post manager's rule or whether the manager got the inspiration from Pootoogook.

Pootoogook's kitchen stove, fed by the tributes of his camp followers, was in his little wooden house at Ekeerisak camp, a hundred or more kilometres from Cape Dorset. The year of 1941 was a peak year for white foxes and the price, at \$25 for each pelt, was very high for those days. Pootoogook made a record profit. With the proceeds he ordered from the Company, materials for building a small house and a kitchen stove to heat it.

As there was no resident missionary in Cape Dorset, Pootoogook was the chief catechist and the leading member of the Anglican Church of Canada. It was through his influence that the Anglican Church at Cape Dorset was built, mainly with the voluntary labour of the Inuit.

The saddest event of his life was the illness of his eldest son, Solomonie, born in 1919, who developed tuberculosis and spent many years in hospital without recovering. According to reports, the infection was brought to Pootoogook's camp by some of the young women who married his sons, and who also went out to hospital as soon as their complaint was diagnosed. Unfortunately, cleanliness and good food did not prevent healthy persons from catching the disease.

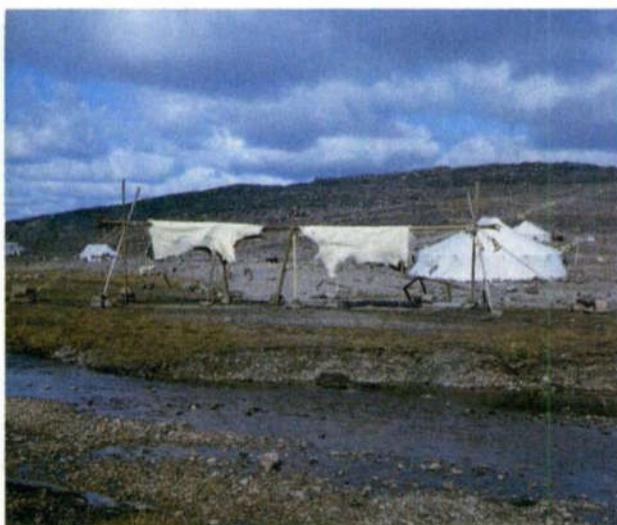
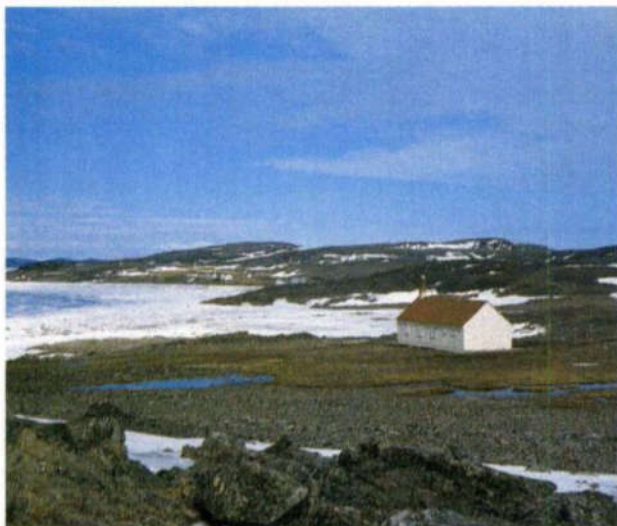
It was when I chartered his boat *Aivik* — Walrus — that I became acquainted with Pootoogook.

In those early years, attendance at school was erratic. The families lived mainly outside the community at hunting camps. I sent assignments out to the children when their fathers came in to trade, and arranged for them to bring the papers back on their next trip. Often the fathers would go over the corrections with me, so they could explain any errors to their children. They were a highly intelligent group of people, eager to learn.

From time to time I went out to the camps myself, to teach and see if there were any welfare problems. My last big tour of the camps would be in October, and for this I hired Pootoogook's boat.

Pootoogook himself always came on these trips, giving me the only cabin, which he always occupied when there were no passengers. The boat was spotlessly clean and his crew were quiet and efficient. As I was the first woman to charter the *Aivik* I wondered whether Pootoogook would come to me each morning for my instructions for the day, as was his custom with the men. He did and he also asked for permission to hunt during the trip.

The Anglican church at Cape Dorset, 1955.



Pootoogook's tent at Cape Dorset where he and the others of his camp awaited the arrival of the 'Nascopie'. The skins of polar bears, taken by white hunters who had hired Pootoogook as a guide, are cleaned and drying in the sun.

'Hunt anything that is on our course', I said, 'but don't go off course to hunt. I must do all I have to do within the allotted time.' With Pootoogook there was never any argument or cheating.

Usually the crew caught several small seals and a few square flippers — bearded seals — during a trip. Sometimes we encountered very rough weather and had to stay in an anchorage for a day or more. At such times some of the crew would go ashore and hunt; others would stay on board and carve soapstone or ivory. Everyone was busy.

When Pootoogook learned that I had a 12-bore shotgun (one I bought in England during the war to shoot rabbits for food) he asked me to bring it on the trip the next time I hired the boat. I had already noticed that none of the crew had a shotgun; they all had rifles.

On a journey to Amadjuak I took part in a seal hunt for the first time. Several bearded seals had been sighted and the crew started to hunt one of them when Pootoogook came to ask me to use my gun. He explained that when the seal was within range I was to watch the surface of the water carefully and when there was an indication that the seal was coming up, I was to fire at that spot. The seal would then go down without taking a breath and the hunters would have time to get near enough to harpoon it the next time it came up. It meant a quicker end to the hunted creature.

Pootoogook looked on and now and again offered a suggestion while the crew landed the seal. Apparently it was to be shared among the hunters, for Munami cut it into as many huge slices as there were men. After the meat was packed into an empty oil drum, the vitamin-rich intestine was emptied of its contents, washed in the sea and prepared for drying. When dry and crisp it would be a tasty hors d'oeuvre. Everything was then packed away and the boat was cleaned thoroughly. The work was done quietly, efficiently and quickly. Then Pootoogook came to thank me for my help.

Pootoogook had never been to school, spoke no English and had lived all his life among his own people except for various periods of travelling with white men. His innate courtesy and intelligence were a constant revelation to me.

On my journey to Cape Dorchester in Pootoogook's boat we followed part of the route taken by Dewey Soper and, as usual when we were in territory that had points of interest, Pootoogook told me of various incidents connected with the trip. When we stopped in Schooner Harbour he told me that the harbour had been named for the schooner of the American explorer, Captain Donald Baxter Macmillan, who was ice-bound there for the winter of 1921-22. He then added that Captain Macmillan knew of the Laplanders who had

recently been brought to Amadjuak by the Hudson's Bay Company to establish a reindeer industry on Baffin Island. He wondered whether any of them might need medical attention so he sent the ship's doctor by dog-team to visit them. What surprised Dr Robertson the most was to see the Laplanders and the Inuit, people of different races without a common language, getting on so happily together.

Pootoogook spoke of the Laplanders again when I travelled in his boat to Simeonie's camp at Amadjuak. He pointed out the location where the Laplanders had arrived with their reindeer in 1921. The reindeer herd of six hundred and twenty animals had been brought across the Atlantic by the *Nascope*, along with a supervisor for the project (who was also a carpenter), four reindeer herders, their families, their dogs and their little sledges. They also brought sacks of reindeer lichen — *Cladonia Rangeferina* — and when this supply was exhausted (presumably much of it would have been used on the journey) the reindeer ate Icelandic moss which was similar in appearance but did not have the same nutritive value. After two years the project of reindeer herding was abandoned and the Laplanders returned to their own country.

What seemed to have fascinated Pootoogook most about the Laplanders was the way they travelled in winter in their pulkas which looked like little boats just big enough for one person and pulled by a majestic reindeer guided by one rein. Even after so many years the memory of the Lapps in their pulkas made Pootoogook chuckle.

My visits to the camps gave me an understanding of the real life of most of the people. (Those who lived in the settlement worked for white people and received regular wages.) And it was mainly through my visits to camps that I became acquainted with the women. The men always dropped in for a visit when they came to trade at the store but the women came only at ship-time when whole families moved to Cape Dorset for about a month and the children could come to school daily.

So my work in camps included visiting the winterized tents and preparing school work. The exercises, which I devised and hektographed were, of course, very elementary, with instructions in the syllabic script. Pootoogook apparently approved of what I was doing, for he encouraged the children to do their best.

After I left Cape Dorset I saw Pootoogook only once. That was some years later when the ship in which I was travelling to Churchill called on the way at Cape Dorset. Pootoogook was ill in bed in the nursing station and when he heard that I was in the settlement he asked to see me. I was distressed to see how weak and ill he was. His death some months later in 1959 marked the end of an era. ♦

Descendants of Etidlooe and his wife Aksatungwak

(From information gathered by Father Trinel)

THE COUPLE HAD THREE SONS: Keartshuk, Kavavau and Inukjuardjuk; and two daughters: Tukikri and Pudlanigiar.

Keartshuk, the eldest son, married Aniako and they had three daughters: Aksatungwak who married Sagiark; Komanguak who married Kolulak, and Akerok who married Katakuluk.

Kavavau, the second son, had three wives, Tukurkikuluk, Napatsik and Omaluk. The first wife had a daughter, Milortuadjuak, who married Audlaluk. The second wife had three sons, Ottoki, Makpaluk and Etidlooe, who married, respectively, Timangiak, Aiyaut and Pisukti. The third wife had two daughters, Atteittok and Keyuk, and a son, Igdjualuk. Their spouses were named Kigutark, Malaki and Saimoni.

Most of the people at Pootoogook's camp were descended from Inukjuardjuk, the third son, who had four wives: Nerokutsiak, Kirmirpikulu, Kumardjuk, and Kuyuk. Nerokutsiak, the first wife, had three daughters. Itiareark who married Joanisi; Kudluardjuk and Aksatungwak; and one son, Pitalusi who married Pi. Kirmirpikuli, the second wife, had one daughter Elisusi, who was born 9 June 1896 and married the famous artist Parr. The third wife Kumardjuk had two sons: Tukurkri who married Kilayak and Kavavau who married Etukuluk; and a daughter Suvigak who married Joanisiarak. The fourth wife Kuyuk, had eight children: Ni, a daughter, married Sailak; Ekaluk, a son, married Makittok; Annie married Kavavau; Paulusi, a son, married Mayoriark and Pootoogook who was born 9 May 1888 and married Ningiukulu. Pi, a daughter, married Matiusi, Etukuluk, a son, married Arkjangajuk and Pitsiolak, a son, born 2 September 1902, married Annie and after her death he married Aggio who was born 4 July 1906. ♦

George Robinson: Nanaimo Mine Agent

By Randolph Sydney Vickers

After a gruelling six-month voyage from England on the barque 'Princess Royal' George Robinson, mine agent, along with 22 Staffordshire miners and their families, reached the new coal mining settlement of Nanaimo in November 1854.

EARLY IN 1854, George Robinson of Holly Hall, Worcestershire, obtained a position with the Hudson's Bay Company as prospective mine agent, or superintendent, for the new coal mine which the Company was developing on the shores of Winhuysen Inlet on Vancouver Island.

The Company had previously mined coal at Fort Rupert, further north on the Island, since 1849. The seam was narrow and the coal was mediocre in quality, and there had been trouble with the Scottish miners who had been brought out on the brigs *Harpooner* and *Torrey* to work the mine. Not only had they engaged in a brief strike soon after their arrival, but almost half of them — all single men — had broken their contracts and absconded to California as soon as news of the 1849 gold strike reached them. When much more promising coal deposits were discovered in 1850 on Winhuysen Inlet, in the land of the Salish Indian confederation called the Sne-Ny-Mo, Chief Factor James Douglas wrote from Fort Victoria to Hudson's Bay House in London with advice of the discovery and his recommendations: first, that the Fort Rupert mine be abandoned and the new deposits developed; second that a settlement be founded, to be named Colville Town in honour of Hudson's Bay Company Governor

Andrew Colville; and third that the work-force be augmented with married miners, preferably with at least one or two children per family, to promote stability and reduce the chance of defections to golden California.

The Company concurred, and made plans to send out forty Scottish miners by the chartered ship *Colinda*; but for some reason the miners left the ship at Chile. The Company then advertised in the London newspapers for suitable miner-colonists. The advertisements dwelt lovingly on the beauties and virtues of Vancouver Island, and stated that passage would be arranged in the Company's newly completed barque, *Princess Royal*, at minimum cost; the men would work their passage through employment as deck-hands, not even being required to go aloft.

A group of twenty-three miners from Brierley Hill, Staffordshire, offered their services, and George Robinson was sent to interview them. Some may have been known to George already, for Brierley Hill was only a short distance from Holly Hall. George recommended acceptance of the offer, and soon thereafter each man received an imposing five-page 'Indenture and Contract of Service' which he was to sign if literate or mark with his 'X' in the presence of literate witnesses if not. All forms appear to have been returned marked with 'X'. The men were notified a few days later that *Princess Royal* would be sailing from Blackwall Docks, London, in late May, and that a loan of fifteen pounds, repayable in one year, would be made to each man to equip his family for the journey to the New World.

Randolph S. Vickers, of Victoria, B. C., is a great-grandson of George Robinson, and has done extensive research on the Robinson family. Now retired, Mr Vickers served for 39 years in civil service positions at the Canadian Navy Dockyard, Esquimalt, B. C.

Photographs, unless otherwise credited, are from the author's collection.



George Robinson, (1825-1895).



Nanaimo, Vancouver Island, in 1858. The H B C bastion, built five years earlier, still stands today, in a slightly different location.

'It must have been with indescribable relief that the passengers saw the Sandwich Islands rising above the horizon . . .'

The Company proved to be optimistic in the sailing date. It was the evening of 2 June 1854, when the miners and their families arrived at Blackwall and were taken on board. A letter written in late April by Company Secretary W. G. Smith to Chief Factor Douglas, stated that eighty-three men, women and children were expected. The miners and their families were to travel steerage in company with a Mrs Laing and her five children and with a contingent of ten Norwegians who had been hired for general service. The ship's intermediate accommodations would be occupied by three wives of men who were serving on the steamer *Otter* and by a female servant of the Robinsons. George and Ann Robinson with their two small children were to share the cabin space with Charles Clark, schoolmaster-elect for the new school at Craigflower Farm, and his wife Eliza and their infant.

Cabin and intermediate passengers at least had bunks. Those in steerage had barely sufficient room to spread a mattress on the bare deck of the ship's main hold, amid piles of their belongings. There was not enough room for an adult to stand upright, and only a couple of smoky oil-burning lanterns relieved the gloom and added their pungent odours to the dank air.

The ship's log for 2 June does not list the miners by name, but notes only that '23 men and 23 women' were received on board 'with a quantity of children'. Later log entries and the work of several researchers gave a total of a hundred and five passengers, in addition to the ship's officers and crew. It is certain that conditions on board the 613-ton *Princess Royal* during her five-and-a-half-month voyage were seriously overcrowded.

The *Princess Royal* was towed downstream to Gravesend on the morning of 3 June 1854. Here the pilot left, the sails were shaken out, and the long voyage began. First Mate Charles Gale kept the ship's log, using terse seaman's language and his own system of spelling. It was a gloomy recital of births, deaths, bad weather, worse rations and even a mild mutiny.

The first to die was the infant of Charles Clarke, the schoolmaster, in July. Services were held by Cap-

tain David Wishart and the tiny body committed to the deep.

The mutiny occurred on the 29th of the same month; seventeen miners went on strike to protest the condition of the rice ration. Gale grimly listed their names in the ship's log, but the matter was resolved and the men returned to work next day.

Early in August the George Bull family lost one of their two children, but the other — a daughter, name unknown — survived. On 20 September eight-year-old John Malpass succumbed. Four days later a baby was born to Mrs John Baker; it lived only three weeks, dying 15 October after being hastily christened 'Anna Maria, with and by the forms of the Church of England'. The dead children were formally buried at sea.

Given the crowded quarters and limited rations, some deaths were almost inevitable. The allowance of fresh water was barely sufficient for cooking and drinking; none was available for the washing of persons or clothes except what could be gathered during rainstorms. The sailors, inured to this mode of living, advised the passengers to simply forget about washing with soap and water until they reached land. Using salt water, they said, would only cause skin rashes and sores. In tropical weather, sweaty bodies should simply be dried with a towel and left be with that.

The distress of the Atlantic tropics proved to be only a prelude to worse conditions in the rounding of Cape Horn in the depths of the southern winter, with its wild storms, bitter cold, and mountainous waves which all too frequently laid the little ship on her beam-ends. Boxes and bundles periodically worked loose from their lashings and went slithering and bounding around the living-quarters until seized and roped down again. The shivering passengers wrapped themselves in all the clothing they could muster and appeared on deck only briefly to escape the stench of the bilges and the worst effects of *mal de mer*. It was a time no one would ever forget.

With the Cape safely rounded, the weather moderated but a new problem arose. By the time the ship had reached the tropics, the drinking-water in its casks was so rancid that its smell, let alone its taste, was almost unbearable. Food rations now consisted largely of mouldy hardtack, insect-infested rice and rainbow-hued salt pork. It must have been with indescribable relief that the passengers saw the Sandwich Islands rising above the horizon, with their promise of fresh water and provisions. *Princess Royal* anchored off Honolulu on 20 October, 140 days after leaving London.

Their troubles, however, were not over. Thomas Lowndes, 'ill almost ever since we left London', died 21 October and was buried ashore. A week later Mrs William Incher died in childbirth, and one of the Ganner children died soon after. Gale's log notes that on



The H B C barque 'Princess Royal', from a water-colour by J. Hardcastle. George Robinson and the Staffordshire miners sailed from Gravesend on the 'Princess Royal' 3 June 1854 and arrived at Nanaimo on 27 November. Every year since, on this date, the descendants of the miners have held a commemorative ceremony at the landing site.

29 October 'at 8.30 Mr. Robinson with 5 more of the people Went on Shore to Burie the 2 corpses'. Two days later the ship left Honolulu and shaped course for Fort Victoria.

The log continued to record tragic events. On 8 November 'at 3 h PM William Inchers Infant Died the Mother of Which was Buried at Honolulu. At 8h 30m PM the Infant was Thrown over board and no more Notice taken of it then as if it Had been a ded Cat.' Presumably the baby had not been christened and so was judged unworthy of a burial service; nonetheless Gale's entry reveals his utter disgust. A final death occurred on 13 November, when Richard Richardson's child was found dead 'at 3.30 this morning By the side of its Mother. The usual Cerimoney performed by the Capt.'

Princess Royal encountered fog at the entrance to the Straits of Juan de Fuca, then a boisterous autumn storm forced her to tack back and forth for three days in slow progress up the Straits. At last, on 23 November, she came to safe anchor in Esquimalt harbour. Chief Factor Douglas wrote to London that evening

to report the ship's arrival, with a note that the passengers were 'in tolerable health' and that he proposed 'sending off the Miners immediately to Nanaimo, and gave Mr. Robinson directions to make his arrangements accordingly'.

Two days later the Robinsons and their belongings were transferred to the Company steamer *Beaver*. Gale's log records that he had 'Landed Mr. Clarke and his Mr. Robinsons servant that was is gone with Mr. Clarke'. Late in the afternoon of the same day, the Company schooner *Recovery* came alongside and in a busy two-and-a-half hours the miners with their families and belongings were transferred. On 28 November Douglas reported that 'Mr. Robinson with the miners and their families were sent by the *Beaver* and *Recovery* to Colvile Town on the 26th inst. with a good supply of potatoes and fresh meat'. No doubt the change in diet was welcome.

By this time even Chief Factor Douglas was using both 'Colvile Town' and 'Nanaimo' (derived from Sne-Ny-Mo) as the name of the new settlement. Soon Nanaimo was the only name in use.



Nanaimo, c. 1860, from a water-colour by E. P. Bedwell.

Beaver and *Recovery* reached their destination on the morning of 27 November 1854, a date which is still cherished in Nanaimo history. The day was cold and overcast, and there was light snow on the ground. On a rocky eminence overlooking the harbour stood the Bastion, a peculiar three-storey octagonal structure of hand-squared logs; from the top storey projected the black muzzles of two six-pound carronades. Nearby, enclosed by a white picket fence, was the Hudson's Bay Company store, and clustered around it were seven cabins which Douglas had caused to be erected for temporary use by the miners. The four smaller cabins measured fifteen feet by twenty-six, while the three larger were twenty feet by thirty. Three more of the larger cabins were in the early stages of construction.

We can be certain that the miners and their families spent a crowded and far from comfortable winter in these little buildings whose only amenities were a few mats, woven by the Indians from bullrushes and dog-hair. Even so, the conditions were an improvement over the main hold of *Princess Royal*.

Living improved further in time. One stipulation in the miners' contracts had been that each man should help construct a wooden dwelling and other conveniences for the use of his family. With assistance from the Company and advice from one of their number, Edwin Gough, who though engaged as a miner was

actually trained in cabinet-making and carriage-building, these houses were gradually erected. Not one has survived to the present day, but Nanaimo historians can still point out where most of them stood.

George and Ann Robinson and their two children lived in one of the Company houses, which was sited on a plot of land now forming part of the garden of St Paul's rectory. There on 1 October 1855, Ann Robinson presented George with a second son. She never recovered from the complications of childbirth, particularly the dreaded 'childbirth fever' and died 3 January 1856. Her tiny boy did not survive long, dying 21 February. Ann's grave was re-opened and he was interred with her.

George Robinson, grieving this double blow, wrote to his family in Dudley. He requested his brother-in-law Thomas Bryant to arrange for engraving and shipping a tombstone, and urged his sister Maria to come to Nanaimo to take charge of his motherless household. He also suggested that two of his nephews accompany her: Mark, son of Thomas Bate and George's eldest sister Elizabeth, was promised a clerical post at the mine; Cornelius, son of Thomas Bryant and George's second-eldest sister Sarah, would be recommended for the position of schoolteacher which was about to be vacated by its first incumbent, Charles Bailey.

There was little time between the arrival of the letters and the departure of *Princess Royal* on her next voyage. All three must have made quick, favourable decisions to emigrate, and Mark's sister Elizabeth then decided to go with them. The little party joined *Princess Royal* at Blackwall on 19 August 1856. The ship's log, still erratic in spelling, lists as steerage passengers for the voyage, 'Miss Robinson, Miss Elizabeth Bates, Mr. Mark Bates, Mr. Cornelius Briant'. It was a voyage similar in many respects to that of 1854, except that, with so few passengers, there was vastly improved provisioning and accommodation. There were no deaths enroute and the ship reached Fort Victoria on 18 January 1857.

For two weeks Mark and Cornelius remained on board the ship while Cornelius passed a searching examination by the Fort's chaplain, Reverend Edward Cridge, and was accepted for the vacant post of Nanaimo schoolteacher. Maria and Elizabeth may have remained also, given the infrequent sailings to Nanaimo, but no record of this now remains. By early February, all had arrived and were employed: Mark as a clerk at the mine, Cornelius as schoolteacher, and Maria and Elizabeth in keeping house in the Robinson home where they all lived.

Things settled into a pleasant routine until 23 July 1858, when George Robinson went to San Francisco, possibly on behalf of the Company to promote the sale of Nanaimo coal. While there, he attended a ball which was given either by or in honour of the French Consul, Monsieur Abel Frederick Gautier. At the same ball was Madame Gautier's red-haired English secretary, Caroline Dakens. On 19 August, after what for leisurely Victorian times must have been a whirlwind courtship, George and Caroline were married at San

Francisco's Church of the Advent.

There is some possibility that Caroline had to settle her contract with the Gautiers, but the delay was short, for the happy couple reached Nanaimo on 11 September. They had the house almost to themselves, for Cornelius had meanwhile moved into his own bachelor apartment near the schoolhouse and Maria had departed for Victoria, where she opened a dressmaking and millinery shop. Elizabeth married H B C storekeeper Adam Grant Horne on 22 February 1856.

Of George's work at the coal mine few records survive, apart from his quarterly reports on coal production: shafts dug, worked and abandoned; a jetty built and coal shipments made. His job cannot have been easy, for the miners were a fractious lot. In September 1855, eight of them went on strike for a day, then decamped *en masse* to Bellingham Bay where an American concern was mining low-grade coal. All returned two weeks later, just as their families were about to be evicted from their Company houses, and on professing contrition were taken back on the payroll. Later in the same year, three other miners went the same route and stayed away longer, but all returned within a few weeks and were also taken back.

In February 1856 George was personally involved in a violent confrontation with Scottish miner John McGregor. McGregor, accused by George of malinger, replied with a volley of abusive epithets which so incensed George that he picked up the handiest blunt object — a blacksmith's hammer — and knocked McGregor to the ground with one blow. George told his family years later that for a short time it seemed he might be sent away in disgrace to Fort Victoria to finish out his contract. The incident was finally smoothed over.



George and Ann Robinson and their two children lived in this Company house in Nanaimo. Here in October 1855 Ann (at right) gave birth to a second son, but she and the child died a few months later. George inscribed the photograph: 'The house at Nanaimo in which my dear wife died'.



Caroline Dakens, second wife of George Robinson, whom he met in San Francisco in 1858.

A final mention of George's activities at Nanaimo appeared in a newly founded Victoria newspaper, the *British Colonist*, in connection with remarks he had made at the election of a member to the recently established legislative assembly. Restrictions of franchise were so severe that no resident of Nanaimo was qualified to run as a member; and only one person, Captain Charles Edward Stuart of the Hudson's Bay Company, was qualified to vote. George Robinson was definitely unhappy with this state of affairs, and made a forceful public protest.

George's contract with the Hudson's Bay Company was completed in November 1859, and on the 21st of the month he took passage with Caroline and his two children on the *Otter* for Fort Victoria. From there they went to England via San Francisco, Panama and New York. George had evidently been more concerned with producing coal than with winning popularity, for a vague proposal circulated among the miners that his departure should be celebrated by hanging him in effigy, but nothing seems to have come of it.

The family settled briefly at Eastbourne, Sussex, where Caroline presented George with another daughter, Georgiana Caroline, born 19 November 1861. Shortly thereafter the family moved to Kidderminster, where George became manager of the Caldwell Brick Works and where Amanda Theresa and Victor Ernest went to school. George could not settle down in England, however, and early in 1864 the family returned to Victoria.

In his last year at Nanaimo, George had acquired one of the early cameras and had used his knowledge of chemistry to take and develop a number of photographs of the settlement. During his stay in England he studied further and so improved his technique that in Victoria he could earn a living at photography. After a few years, however, he took up dentistry and made his living in that profession. During brief lapses from both careers he reverted to mining engineer, exploring for coal twice on the west coast of Vancouver Island and twice more superintending coal production at a mine at Cowlitz in the Queen Charlottes. During this time two children were born at Victoria: Fanny Augusta on 11 January 1866 and George Thomas on 6 August 1867. If George had not been happy in England, Caroline was even more unhappy abroad. Early in 1871 George, Caroline and the three younger children moved to Olympia, Washington Territory; but after a year or so Caroline took both girls and returned to England. George and his young son followed a few months later.

Back in England again, George became manager of Blowers Green Colliery at Dudley, then took a better-paying position at the Steam Brick Works, Leamington. From there he went to Scarfields Brick Works, again as manager, then became Postmaster at Alvechurch. He died at Inkberrow, Worcestershire, on 19 February 1895 and is buried there beside Caroline, who had preceded him two years earlier.

What impact did George Robinson's five years as mine agent have on the mine and settlement at Nanaimo? Directly, it seems, not a great deal. His continuing influence shows in those members of his family and of the Staffordshire miners whose descendants still live in the Nanaimo area.

Of the twenty-three miners who left England, Thomas Lowndes died enroute and two families — those of George Bull and John Baker — somehow obtained early release from their contracts and left with their families for England on 6 April 1857 on board the *Sea Witch*. Thomas York, who obtained a release at the same time, went briefly to Old Whatcom in the state of Washington to open a coal mine for an American concern, but returned to the Fraser Valley during the 1859 gold rush and settled there. All or most of the remaining nineteen families stayed on in the Nanaimo area after completing their five-year contracts.

A half-century ago, a determined and highly motivated researcher, Mrs E. Devlin of Nanaimo, spent several years tracing descendants of the Brierley Hill families. She located several hundred descendants, diffused from Nanaimo throughout Vancouver Island and the adjacent British Columbia mainland and in the western United States. Today their numbers would be in the thousands. ♦

Observations of the Transit of Venus at Prince of Wales's Fort in 1769

By Timothy Ball and David Dyck

IN THE SUMMER OF 1768, William Wales and Joseph Dymond, two astronomers in the employ of the Royal Society of London, set sail from Gravesend on board the Hudson's Bay Company ship *Prince Rupert* bound for the newly constructed Prince of Wales's Fort on Hudson Bay on the north side of the Churchill River. They were to spend thirteen months at that remote site waiting for the opportunity to observe the transit of Venus, an astronomical event predicted to occur in June of 1769. Many other teams and expeditions had been organized by the Royal Society and dispatched to various locations around the globe in the hope that many observations from different perspectives would more accurately define the basic astronomical unit, the distance between the earth and the sun.

Nicholas Copernicus, a Polish astronomer, had proposed in the middle of the sixteenth century the replacement of the geocentric Aristotelian view of the heavens with a system based on the sun being the centre of motion in the heavens, a heliocentric system. Over the next century and a half much discussion, speculation and argument had resulted with perhaps a focal point occurring at the trial of Galileo by the Inquisition in 1633. Towards the end of the seventeenth century Isaac Newton had tied up many loose ends and provided an analysis of the problem and a solution so neat and succinct that most astronomers and scientists of the day were in accord as to the general motion of the solar system. The eighteenth century in astronomy was the Newtonian century. Most astronomers, mathematicians and physicists were engaged in working out the details of the Newtonian system and finding that time after time Newton's ideas triumphed.

One aspect of the Newtonian universe that scientists were attempting to determine with a high degree of accuracy was the basic dimension of the solar system,

and perhaps beyond. In the seventeenth century, mathematicians had already casually suggested that the passage of one or both of the planets, Mercury and Venus, across the face of the sun might serve as a basis for a method of more accurately establishing the size of the solar system. Indeed, the transit of Mercury had been observed in 1631 and that of Venus in 1639. It was not until the work of Edmund Halley in 1716, however, that a practical method for making observations and the subsequent calculations was devised. Halley pointed out that transits of Venus would be the most useful for this purpose and that the next two, which would occur in 1761 and 1769, would be the last for over 100 years.

The basic procedure was that one should observe the time when Venus commenced its passage across the sun and the time when it completed that passage. If such observations were made from positions that were sufficiently far apart on earth, some basic geometry involving the use of similar triangles would allow one to compare the size of the sun with the size of the earth. Knowing the distance between the observational points on earth would allow the calculation of the diameter of the sun. Once this was known, some relatively simple trigonometry would theoretically allow the earth-sun distance to be readily calculated.

Obviously, the greater the separation of the points on earth from which the observations were made, the longer the base line and the greater the likelihood of accuracy of the final result. Observations of the 1761 transit of Venus had been made at more than 65 different locations, many of which were in Europe, but which also included Peking, Calcutta, Cape of Good Hope, and St John's, Newfoundland. The results from all these observations were less than satisfactory, and it was agreed that a greater effort should be made for the transit of 1769. It is important to note that there is no evidence of anyone raising questions about the feasibility of making the kind of observations necessary to achieve the results that could provide meaningful measurements.

Besides the observations at Prince of Wales's Fort involving Wales and Dymond, hundreds of other observations were made, including such exotic locales as Manila, Martinique and Tahiti. In spite of all the preparations it is necessary to recognize that practically, given the methods of the period, there could have been no meaningful results. Considering the fact that the

Dr Timothy Ball, assistant professor, department of geography, University of Winnipeg has published a number of papers related to historical climatology, based on research in the H B C Archives.

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transit lasted less than seven hours and needed to be seen completely to be worthwhile, a cloudy day in any given location obviously would eliminate that station. It is, therefore, amazing that hundreds of observations were successfully completed.

Within this framework the observation of the transit of the planet Venus across the face of the sun in 1761 and 1769 were given high priority and as a result Wales and Dymond found themselves sailing to spend over a year in a remote corner of North America for an astronomical event that was to last only seven hours.

William Wales, who was treated as the senior of the two astronomers, was born about 1734. Unfortunately we have no records of his early education nor are there any indications of distinction in his career prior to being hired by the Royal Society to go on the 1769 expedition. Joseph Dymond's life is even more elusive since we know very little about him prior to 1767 when his negotiations with the Society for the expedition began — except that he was an assistant to the Reverend Mr Maskelyne, the Astronomer Royal. After the expedition was completed Wales was to go on to a distinguished career as a mathematician and teacher, while Dymond disappeared into obscurity.

After a certain amount of bargaining the Society offered both men the sum of two hundred pounds sterling plus expenses, to be paid upon their return. They were both to have their meals at the first mate's table while on board ship and at the second table while they

were at Prince of Wales's Fort. Neither man was too happy with this arrangement but as it turned out they were seated at the captain's table while on board the *Prince Rupert* and at the factor's table while they were at the fort. This elevation in station was to their liking but it might have been better for Dymond had they remained at the lower table while at the fort. As a result of not attending church services on several Sundays, Chief Factor John Fowler advised Dymond that,

'... them that would not pray with me on a Sunday should not eat with me on a Sunday.'

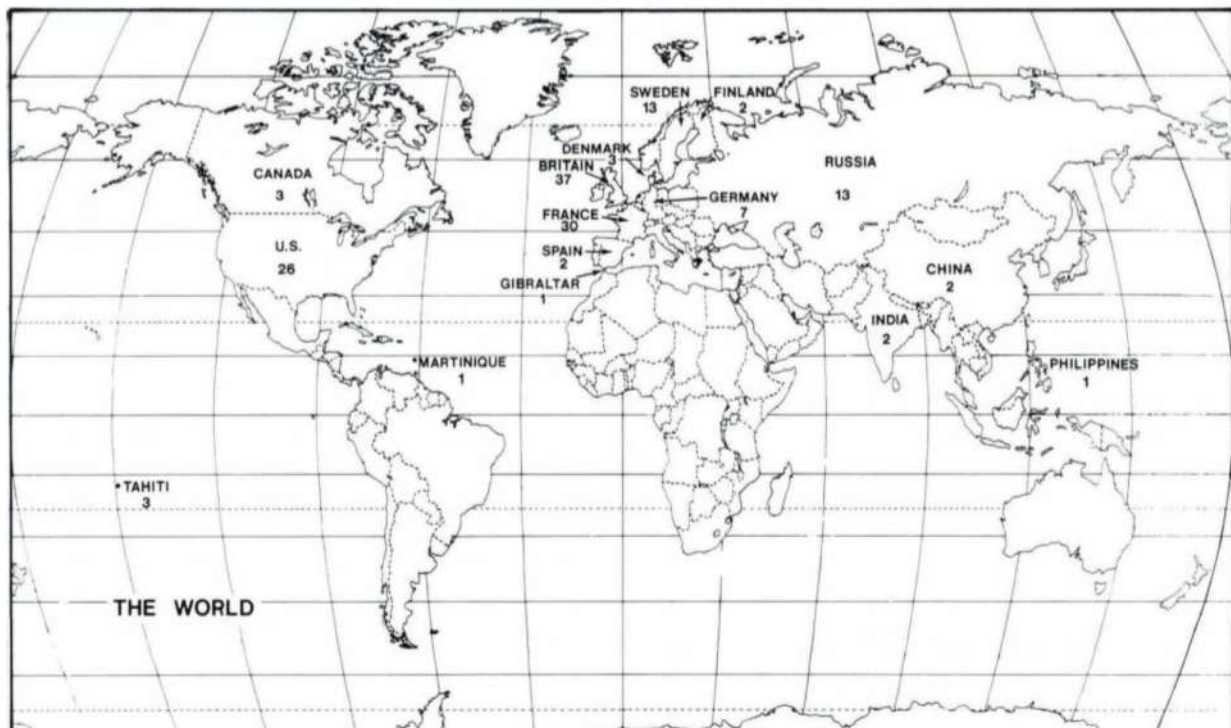
A facet of Dymond's character that might account for his subsequent disappearance from the historic record, is seen in his reaction to this statement. On the Monday he was invited to dine as usual at the factor's table. He declined. Fowler notes in his journal,

After that sent him part of what I had got at my table. He had got a man to tend him and a fier in his rome, so I think he will take no harme.

There is no indication whether this situation was resolved before Dymond left, although Fowler's comment has the ring of a man who was concerned for his fellow man and would not allow an awkward situation to continue for too long.

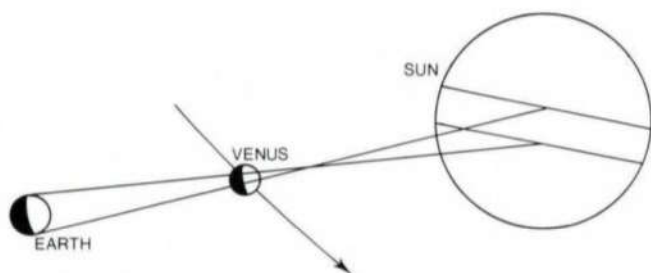
When they returned to England in 1769, Wales and Dymond presented their reports to the Society, but were asked to provide more detailed information. Sub-

Numbers of observations of the transit of Venus taken in various countries in 1769.



sequently Wales submitted two reports which were published in the Transactions of 1770 and 1771. One provided detailed information on the observations of the transit and also a detailed meteorological record for the duration of their stay. The other was essentially a day-by-day journal account of the major events of the voyage out, the conditions they encountered while in North America, and the voyage home. Some of the scientific data in the latter paper will be discussed later.

By this time Wales had established himself as the better astronomer and as a result his career continued to develop. He sailed with James Cook on the second voyage to the Pacific Ocean in 1772, returning to England in 1775 to an appointment as master of the mathematical school established at Christ's Hospital. His major job was to train young men in the skills of



Observers at different places on earth see Venus trace different paths across the face of the sun. The diagram shows the relationship of the bodies and since most angles and distances are known, the remainder can be measured or inferred, thus allowing for the calculation of the earth-sun distance.

navigation, an interest that is clearly seen in the journal report of his trip to North America. In November of 1776 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

Wales maintained his interest in North America throughout his life, which ended at Christ's Hospital in 1798 at the age of 64. He was remembered as 'a man of kindly disposition, and his pupils became much attached to him'. This characteristic appears to be in contrast to the disposition of Joseph Dymond and probably accounts for Wales's continued association with the Royal Society, and in particular with Samuel Wegg. It appears likely that Wegg's positions as treasurer of the Society from 1768, Deputy Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1774, and subsequently Governor of the Honourable Company, provided the two men with a great many common interests.

In the first two centuries of the Society's existence following its founding in 1660, before science became a profession in itself, the fortunes of the Society depended most often on the driving force of one individual, frequently, though not always, the president. Similarly, the nature of projects that received support,

or the effectiveness of the projects, was very much dependent upon the abilities and interests of that individual. In 1752 George, Earl of Macclesfield, a man noted for his interest in mathematics and astronomy, was elected president. He remained in that position until his death in 1764 when he was succeeded by James, Earl of Morton, one of the commissioners of longitude. Both men showed a great deal of interest in the accurate measurement of the world and the surrounding planetary system. Thus it is not surprising that early in 1760 the Society sent a 'memorial' to the Lords of the Treasury requesting financial assistance of 800 pounds sterling. The money was to be used to send two observers to St Helena; they noted that double that sum would be required if two other observers were to be sent to Bencoolen in India. The Lords of the Treasury were encouraged to provide assistance to send all four on the grounds that 'the honour of this nation is . . . principally concerned'. This comment clearly identifies competition between the nations to determine who made the most observations. It was, no doubt, a matter of great concern when it was subsequently learned that the French and the Swedes had both made more observations than the English, a fact that apparently influenced the amount of support for the 1769 expeditions.

The fact that the French obtained more observations than the English was particularly galling and, as a result, when James, Earl of Morton, approached George III on behalf of the Royal Society for funding for the 1769 expeditions he had a sympathetic reception that resulted in a grant of 4,000 pounds sterling. In the 'memorial' Lord Morton only briefly mentioned that the 1761 transit had not been observed as effectively as might have been wished. Clearly the Society was proposing to rectify matters, thereby 'Contributing greatly to the improvement of astronomy, on which navigation so much depends'. George III immediately agreed to the granting of the sum requested. The Society's gratitude might perhaps be best illustrated by the fact that when all the expenses for all the 1769 expeditions had been paid, a surplus was declared which the King ordered the Society to keep. They decided to spend part of it on a bust of their benefactor carved by the sculptor Nollekens, which is still in the possession of the Society.

The exploits of Wales and Dymond serve as an excellent illustration of the knowledge, skills and hardships of these men of science. Wales wrote:

I saw several plants, very different from any which I have ever seen in England, but am not Botanist enough to class, or even give a tolerable description of them.

Since it is his own admission it is difficult to dispute Wales's argument, but it is probably one of the few

areas of nature and science in which he was not knowledgeable enough to 'give a tolerable description'. As J.B. Tyrrell noted in 1911, 'Mr. Wales was one of the foremost mathematicians and litterateurs of his age.'

The extent of Wales's interests in the natural world is well documented in the reports he submitted to the Royal Society, describing the events of his thirteen-month expedition. From the day that the ship set sail from Yarmouth Road in the Thames estuary, Wales was measuring, observing and recording anything that might be of scientific interest.

At noon on 23 June 1768 he made his first observation of the sun's meridian altitude, that height of the sun above the southern horizon, from which he calculated the latitude to be 59 degrees 3 and 3/4 minutes. His interest in the latitude was to continue throughout the year (not to mention his life, as an instructor of navigation mathematics) culminating in the following entry:

The prodigious difference between the latitude of Churchill Factory, as laid down from observations made by Hadley's quadrant, and that deduced from the observations made with our astronomical quadrant on shore, has often employed my most serious attention; but I cannot think of any probable cause for such difference, unless it lie in the very great refractive power of the air in these parts.

The problems of determining longitude were to lead to the creation of a 25,000 pound sterling prize to the first person to offer a workable solution. Unfortunately, the chronometer (the device that was to solve the problem, although it did not win the prize for its inventor) had not been developed and as a result Wales was confronted with the fact that Dymond's watch, when compared to that of the ship's captain, was gaining at the rate of nine and a half minutes per day. This point is worth noting because it means that during the approximately seven hours of the transit of Venus, Dymond's watch would have gained approximately 2 minutes and 31 seconds, assuming that the error remained constant.

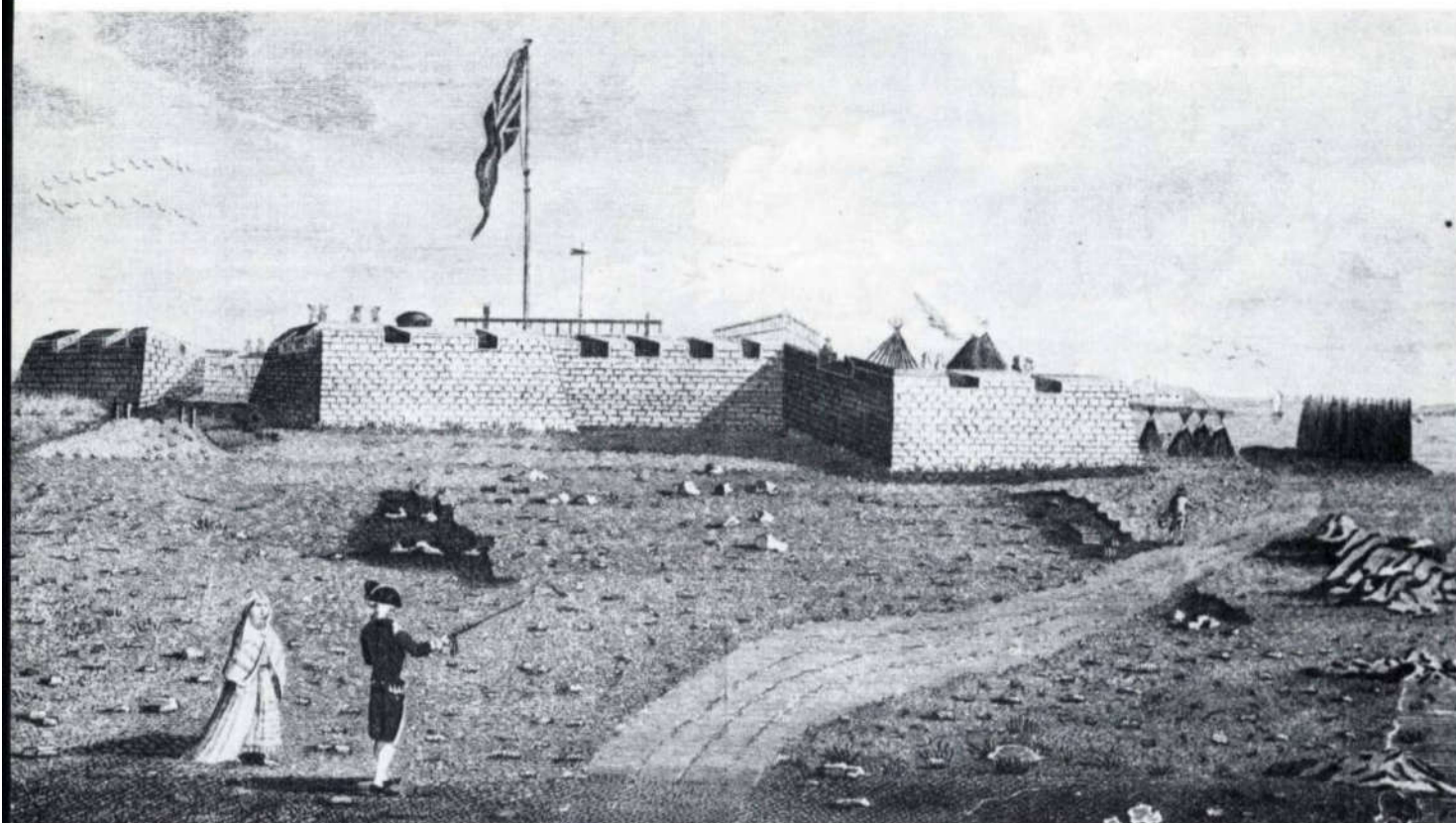
Wales had obviously read as much as possible in preparation for the trip, but was to find that some authors were accurate while others were less so. When the ship was visited by Eskimos off the coast of Greenland, Wales notes that, 'The boat is so well described and delineated in Crantz's history of Greenland, that it is entirely needless to attempt it here.' (The boat he refers to was the umiak or skin boat.) Later when passing through the Hudson Strait he notes '... cannot help observing, that from the accounts of authors, I expected to have found them [the islands] entirely covered with ice and snow; whereas I found them entirely bare, except in some very deep vallies.' He then proceeds to demonstrate his scientific perception

and intuition because he comments, 'I apprehend however, that this had not long been the case, as the water every where kept continually tumbling down the rocks in prodigious torrents.'

The list of things that were observed and commented upon all serve to underline the scope of background reading, and knowledge of the physical world in these latitudes. He notes the geology, the height of the tides, the types of icebergs and their movements, and the nature of the ice. This last point is particularly interesting because Wales identifies a mistake in Crantz's book. Crantz had written that the ice is salty. Wales points out that, 'I will not take upon me to say that they are not made from salt water; but if they are, it must have deposited all its salts before it was frozen to ice.' This is, of course, a very perceptive description of the actual precipitation process that causes salt water to freeze as fresh water.

After arriving at Prince of Wales's Fort which was to be home for almost a year, the two astronomers went about the chore of setting up their observatory that had been prefabricated in England. All of the equipment brought from England was returned and accounted for in the records, but the observatory was to remain. Instructions to Moses Norton and the Council at the fort read, 'You are to apply the Timber of the Royal Society Observatory and the Canvas to such uses as they may be serviceable for at the Factory.' Special care was taken with the instruments which included the telescopes, clocks, quadrants, thermometers, and a barometer. Once everything was in order the observations of local flora, fauna and geology continued.

On 16 August 1768, Wales accompanied Mr Fowler, the chief factor, on a ten-mile excursion to the south. The purpose of the trip was 'to see if we could not find some land likely to produce corn; and in all that extent we did not find one acre, which, in my opinion, was likely to do it.' It is difficult to know why Wales would have gone on such a mission. We have his own admission that he was not much of a botanist, and yet this appears to have been a project that was carried out under orders. The Company was not to issue orders for the collection of climatic information to determine the feasibility of growing English crops until 1811, some 40 years later. Indeed, the Company gave explicit instructions that Wales and Dymond were not to be 'permitted to have the least Insight into the conduct of the Companys Trade or any other of Our Concerns, and that all our Servants be especially cautioned to avoid answering any Enquiries that may be made which do not immediately affect the Astronomical observations.' Of course, this does not preclude the possibility that Samuel Wegg, Deputy Governor in 1774 and treasurer of the Royal Society, could have requested such information.



'A North West View of Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay, North America, by Saml Hearne, 1777'.

Once the winter had set in, Wales and Dymond had little to do except wait for the following summer and the transit event. Wales expressed it this way:

From this time to August the 28th 1769, I kept no journal except of the weather, the original of which has been given in to the Royal Society; and which is, in reality, the only thing we have to keep a journal of here in the winter season.

As with everything else the thoroughness of these meteorological journals is testimony to the diligence of scientists working under very difficult conditions. Observations of temperature, barometric pressure, wind direction, precipitation, and general weather conditions were recorded at least three times a day in the manner prescribed by Dr James Jurin in an article published in the Royal Society Transactions of 1722. The lowest temperature recorded was -43 degrees Fahrenheit on 22 January 1769, while the highest was 69 degrees Fahrenheit on 25 June and again on 3 July of the same year.

Wales and Dymond were housed in a small room, approximately 9 feet by 9 feet, with 3-foot-thick stone walls lined with one-inch boards set three inches away from the wall. Despite this and 'a constantly maintained large fire', Wales writes that ice one-half-inch

thick formed on the walls and his bedding froze to the ice. At the same time beams cracking, because of the intense cold, caused sufficient noise to keep the occupants awake. The temperatures recorded by William Wales for the 11th and 12th of December 1768 were as follows:

11th Dec.	1 a.m.	$-34\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$
	8 a.m.	$-37\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$
	4 p.m.	-42°
	9 p.m.	-43°
12th Dec.	Midnight	-39°
	8 a.m.	-39°

On 12 December, Mr Fowler recorded that 'Mr. Lisk and Mr. Weels went to Mr. Johnston's Tent. This day the weather being so cold that the Timepiece stoped.' It is not clear whether Fowler was discussing his clock or that belonging to Wales and Dymond. The latter had 'A clock, made by Mr. Ellicot, with an apparatus for correcting the effects of heat and cold'. Apparently this was not very effective because on 27 November 1768 Joseph Dymond noted 'At noon I went to wind up the clock, but found it had stopped at 6h48'. I suppose it had been stopped by the cold last night, and therefore I kindled a fire to warm it before it was set a going.'

None of these things deterred Wales and Dymond from their objective so that when the time for the observations arrived they were fully prepared and diligently recorded everything in a report published in the Society's Transactions for November 1769. A majority of the commentary in this report relates to the clocks and the problems of their accuracy, some of which appear to have been caused by the inclusion of an 'apparatus for correcting the effects of heat and cold.' The variances in time were very important, as was noted earlier, if any degree of accuracy was to be achieved in the subsequent calculations.

And what were the results of this long wait and preparation? The bare facts show that while Wales and Dymond were making independent observations side by side they nonetheless did not agree in the crucial times. The *total* times taken for the transit were 6 hours, 22 minutes for Wales and 6 hours, 22 minutes, 26 seconds for Dymond. This appears to be a small percentage error. But when it is realized that only the brief points of contact at the two edges present any difficulty, then the deviation is considerable. When taken together with the fact that Dymond's watch would have gained 2 minutes, 31 seconds during the course of the transit, then Wales's concern about accuracy was well founded.

Wales' concern with accuracy is expressed further:

Such are the best observations of this kind, which I am able to lay before this honorable and learned Society. It gives me much concern to find that they differ so widely from one another; more especially as I am certain that I made them with all the care and circumspection that I was capable of, and with an instrument which seemed to me good of its kind. But I flatter myself it will be considered that, in making observations with this instrument, there are two unavoidable sources of error, viz. in the adjusting the card to the line on the side of the compass-box, and in making the shadow of the thread to fall on the line of the index; I may likewise add a third error, which may be committed in reading of the vernier, as it only subdivides to every 5'; and if all these should happen to fall the same way, their sum, I presume, may be considerable (when an instrument of so small a radius is used), in the hands of the most skillful observer.

Certainly Wales was very conscious of the need for accurate time and accurate observation but there are no indications that his concerns arise from anything other than a scientist's desire for precision. When the instructions were given to Wales and Dymond by Maskelyne, this concern for accuracy was also evident throughout.

It is interesting to note that the Hudson's Bay Company had instructed other employees to also make the

transit observation, if possible. In a letter to Mr Ferdinand Jacobs, Chief Factor at York Fort, the Company asked Jacobs 'to observe the exact time of its commencement, duration, and ending at York Fort, with the apparent course it shall make over the Face of the Sun.' Jacobs carried out this observation and in his journal for 3 June 1769, reported as follows:

at 5 minutes Past one she Appeared on the Outer Edge on the East Side and Pritty Nigh the upper Part of the Sun was 15 minutes before She was bodily within the Sun, At 7 minutes Past 7 She Touched the west Side of the Sun, But a Cloud obstructing my Light, I could not see the End.

However Jacobs was not to be deterred from completing the job.

if the Same time be allowed for her getting Clear of the W^l Edge of the Sun as She was Crossing the E^l Edge before She was bodily within the Sun w^{ch} was 15 minutes, the whole Duration will be Six Hours, 17 Minutes, and the End be at 22 Minutes after 7,

He concluded his report on the transit with this comment:

The above observations was made with a very good Telliscope Armed wth a Smooted Glass next the Eye besides the Plannet Several Other spots were seen in the Sun.

Perhaps the last word should be that of William Wales, subservient and yet trusting that his curiosity in the natural world was the need of his age.

I flatter myself that no gentleman will think that I have laid the preceding remarks before this learned society, under a presumption that they can, in any respect, merit their notice. There are many of them on subjects which I am but little acquainted with: these were made only for my own amusement and are now submitted to the Royal Society, at their command . . . at the same time, I sincerely declare that it would give me the highest satisfaction if they should be found to contain one useful hint, or be conducive to any person whatsoever.

The comments clearly indicate that these reports were not intended for submission and were presented in response to a request for more information regarding the expedition. It suggests that the original instructions to Wales, at least, only provided for the submission of material directly related to the observations of the transit of Venus. Wales was obviously not an individual to shirk from any assigned task. Even if members of the Society did not find any of the material to 'be conducive', we are grateful today for these early observations of Canada. ♦

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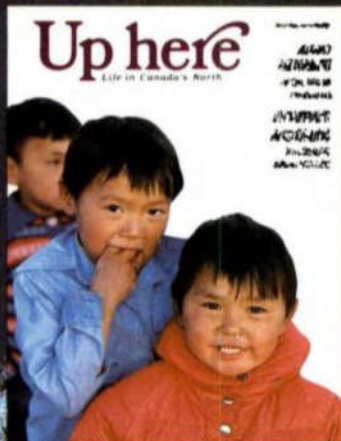
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NORTHERN BOOKS

THE MICHIF DICTIONARY Turtle Mountain Chippewa Cree

By Patline Laverdure and Ida Rose Allard; edited by John C. Crawford. Pemmican Publications, Winnipeg, 1983. 364 pp. \$19.95 paper.

THE GENEALOGY OF THE FIRST METIS NATION The Development and Dispersal of the Red River Settlement, 1820-1900

Compiled by D.N. Sprague and R.P. Frye. Pemmican Publications, Winnipeg, 1983. 38 pp. + 6 multi-page tables, maps. \$19.95 paper.

Reviewed by Jennifer S.H. Brown

Pemmican Publications, Winnipeg's Metis press, is performing a major service to readers interested in Metis history and culture with their growing list of offerings. Two of their most recent volumes make available a wealth of detailed information on these subjects on a scale that would have tempted few commercial publishers.

The Michif Dictionary (which is actually only English-Michif; it lacks the reverse) was compiled by two residents of the Turtle Mountain Reservation in North Dakota, with editorial help from John C. Crawford, professor of linguistics at the University of North Dakota. In his brief introduction, Crawford tackles the linguistic complexities hinted at in the title of the book. The language in question can be viewed as a mixture of French and Cree with some Chippewa influence, and is sometimes called French-Cree. Its speakers, however, often call it Michif, a term which, despite derogatory connotations in the past, has gained ground as expressing a distinctive linguistic-cultural identity widely shared beyond the boundaries of Turtle Mountain.

Crawford shows that there are sound analytical grounds for treating Michif as a distinct language, not a haphazard mixture. The combination of French and Cree elements is highly patterned and

rigorous. Noun phrases typically exhibit French structure, gender, and rules of sound combination; verbs follow basically Plains Cree patterns. Additionally, while Michif dialects vary, Crawford finds remarkable consistency between the Michif spoken at Turtle Mountain, and the vocabulary, syntax, and intonation of Michif speakers in a variety of communities in Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

A browsing through the dictionary provides more than a word list; the compilers furnish phrases and expressions for almost every entry, to demonstrate the manner of its usage but also as an implicit means of conveying aspects of Turtle Mountain Michif life and outlooks. The vocabulary and phraseology surrounding farming and gardening, and Catholic church activities and observances, for example, reflect their users' ambience and values. The term for All Souls' Day is French, transcribed phonetically like all the entries as *Liz Zhoor dee Mor* [*Le Jour des Morts*]. The illustration of its usage shows the organic combination of French and Cree in Michif, and also indicates the means of observing the holiday: 'We don't work with dirt on All Souls' Day. Noo la tayr [cf. *la terre*] tasheeh-kikawtayw li Zhoor dee Mor.'

Coverage of basic vocabulary is at points incomplete. Thus we are given the terms for aunt and great-uncle but not for uncle; for second cousin but not for cousin or first cousin (although they can be surmised from the translation of these secondary terms); and for French (interestingly, *Lee Kenayaen*), and Canadian (*aen zhawnd* [*gens de* Canada]), but not for American. The patterning of those familial and ethnic terms which are provided, however, is suggestive of Michif historical roots and relationships. Although most kinship terms show French dominance (*li payr, ma mayr, ma sueur, moon frayr*), one set of bonds shows no French intrusion: grandfather is *moushoun*,

grandma is *koohkoun*, grandchild(ren) is *noushishim(ak)*. The terms for 'Indian' and 'savage', *aen shaveezh*, *aen savazh*, recall the French, *sauvage*. 'Halfbreed' is *aen blawn* [*blanc*] *pi savaezh*, *aen Metis*, *aen Michif*. Example (under 'savage'): 'We are called savages by non-Indians. Le savazh kishnihkawti-kounawnik lee blawn.'

A non-Michif could not learn the language from this dictionary; as Crawford states, it 'is intended primarily for speakers of the language and their children', who are evidently also sufficiently bilingual to make use of the English-to-Michif format. For a broader audience, however, it is immensely valuable to have Michif on record to this extent. The words, categories, phraseology and expressions record and communicate images and viewpoints of a people who have long been under-represented in the written records of North America.

While *The Michif Dictionary* deals in categories indigenous to and transmitted by Metis people themselves, Sprague and Frye's *Genealogy of the First Metis Nation* compiles a mass of data placed on record by non-Metis — HBC officials, surveyors, clergymen. A 38-page historical introduction to Red River history is followed by over 200 unnumbered pages of tabular material on Red River families, comprising six tables drawn from censuses, land records, and parish registers. As this outline indicates, the substantial topics addressed in the title are dealt with only briefly in textual form, and remain largely implicit in the tabular data, to be interpreted by the diligent reader.

The introduction has both strong and weak points. The varying motives behind and the patterns and options in fur traders' 'marriages according to the custom of the country' — the unions in which most Metis genealogy began — are rather imperfectly summarized. The development of Red River Colony, its relationships with the Hudson's

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Bay Company, and the roles of the provisioning trade and the nineteenth-century transport brigades, however, are well covered. The many handicaps and failings of early Red River agriculture are usefully contrasted with the idealistically high prestige that the upper echelons of the colony attached to it as an occupation, while they ignored or disparaged the roles and productivity of the Metis buffalo hunters. Yet, to a degree, one bias yields to another. Red River as a 'Little Britain' in the wilderness was more than a 'fantasy'; it was lived out seriously by numbers of people in the colony. And pemmican and the buffalo hunt were not, in the longer run, to prove themselves the most reliable and rational of mainstays as the buffalo disappeared. A diversification of resource bases, economic linkages, occupations, and skills (to which the Metis made fundamental contributions, as the text observes) was required for Red River to be economically viable. The statement on p. 28 that, after the 1869-70 Resistance, 'the original population of Manitoba had no basis for retaining its homeland and dispersed west and north' needs qualifications. The original inhabitants were Indians who experienced distinct kinds of

movements and dispersals. And any account of Metis dispersal must acknowledge the several thousand descendants of those who went south or southwest — to Minnesota, North Dakota, Montana, and beyond; *The Michif Dictionary* is a testament to the durability of their identity in some locales. Perhaps, of all Metis, they are most truly the 'people in between', misunderstood by Americans and passed over by most Canadian scholars.

The creation of the integrated data base used to present the tabular material is a major advance in synthesizing data on Metis families. If readers expect, however, to find genealogy ready-made, they will discover they have to work at it. Table 1, 'Genealogies of Red River Households, 1818-1870', for example, consists, more exactly, of vital statistics on Red River heads of families — names of husband and wife, their birth and death dates if known, and race and religion. Each person who recurs in the other tables is cross-referenced by a code number or ID assigned to him or her in this table; and serious readers may achieve some genealogical reconstruction themselves by tracing these numbers.

One racial designation used in Table 1 raises an issue that needed more discussion in the Introduction. Although the text distinguishes at points between Metis and 'natives of Hudson Bay' (p. 16), the computer does not, listing all persons of Indian-white ancestry as Metis. Readers interested in knowing how Red River's diverse native-born inhabitants described or conceived of themselves, ethnically, culturally, or politically, will need other sources; they should be warned that Metis, while an increasingly convenient and popular term in the present, has not been a universally relevant or even familiar category in the lives of many people of Indian-white descent, past or even present. The First Metis Nation and its membership may increasingly be identified and specified in time and space; the concept of a Metis race remains problematic, in many respects, and risks being over-generalized.

Table 2 lists family size, horses, cattle, farm implements, carts, farmed acreage, and parish of Red River landowners in 1835. Table 3 records the names and jobs of HBC contract employees who were recruited from and/or retired to Red River, 1821-1870, though it excludes officers on the one hand, and casual/seasonal labour on the other. Manitoba families, their locations, and the names and ages of their children at home are listed in Table 4, which is drawn primarily from the 1870 census. Table 5, 'Recognition of Riverlot Occupants by the Government of Canada,' lists riverlots, their size, parish, and occupant according to 1870 survey records (many were listed as 'vacant') and the year the lot was patented and to whom. Table 6 'Dispersal and Relocation of the Manitoba Metis,' lists over 500 names of persons of Red River parentage and their 'new location' (sometimes it was Winnipeg) according to the scrip registers of various 'Half-Breed Commissions' between 1885 and 1900.

The authors in a brief preface properly urge caution in the use of these data; gaps, errors, and omissions exist and are extremely difficult to avoid, given the uneven quality of the original records and the trials of compiling them. This kind of undertaking should, in fact, be ongoing in looseleaf-binder as well as book form, open to additions and corrections from any verifiable source. It is to be hoped that this book may be a precursor to a growing data bank, one which draws on a much wider range of information

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and solicits feedback from the many people who have studied one or another facet of Red River and western families and communities.

For the present, however, Pemmican Publications is doing much good in making such works available. Their efforts deserve support. The quality of these books would have been enhanced by more professional editing and by the use of better paper stock; we may hope that Pemmican will have the future resources to improve in these domains, as well as to continue building up their most worthwhile list of offerings.

Jennifer Brown is professor of history at the University of Manitoba, and author of 'Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country'.

THE ISLAND

A Natural History of Vancouver Island

By Tim Fitzharris. Oxford University Press, Toronto, 1983. 134 pp., illus. \$24.95 cloth.

THE WILD PRAIRIE

A Natural History of the Western Plains

By Tim Fitzharris. Oxford University Press, Toronto, 1983. 144 pp., illus. \$24.95 cloth.

Reviewed by Patrick McCloskey

Canadian photographer Tim Fitzharris has set out to portray the wilderness of two distinctly different landscapes: one, the largely vanished wild prairie of western North America, and the other, the lush natural beauty of Vancouver Island which, Fitzharris says, he is documenting now because it could well be substantially altered in the next ten years.

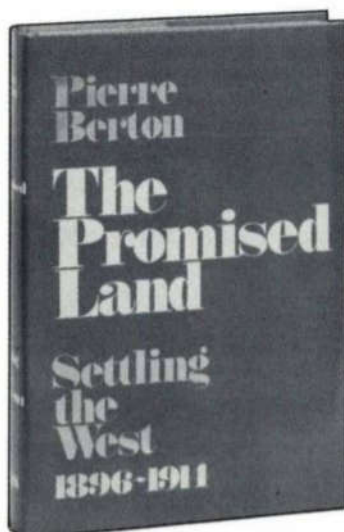
Both books are of the 'coffee-table' variety in that the quality of photography and printing warrants returning to their beautiful images time and again. Many photographers would have treated these subjects with a typical 'beautiful nature' approach — a lot of scenics with a few sharp and well-exposed and, yes, lucky wildlife shots. Such books have appeared in abundance

in the past few years and seemed to be cloned. But Fitzharris's stands apart. His two books focus less on scenics and more on specific subjects: the plants and primarily the wildlife of these two regions.

Fitzharris is a wildlife photographer *par excellence*. A glance at these books provides testimony to the thousands of hours he doubtless spent stalking and studying his sub-

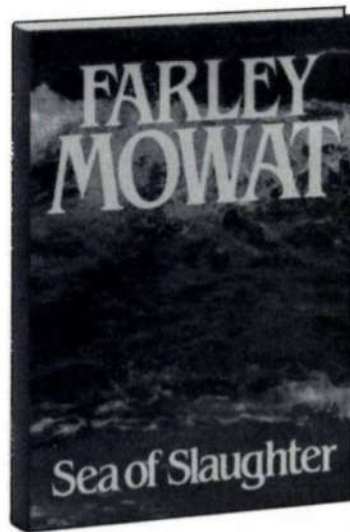
jects, and crouching in blinds. The images he presents, rather than being a serviceable collection of sharp, well-lit wildlife photos, are artistic renderings that capture moods and poses which we are not accustomed to seeing. His photograph in *The Island* of a heron taking off is one of the most striking and graphic images I've seen in wildlife photography: the body of

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the heron suspended lightly above the water, breaking up the surrounding darkness. Even a gull, that most common (and often ignored) of maritime birds, is caught in a dance-like pose of exquisite beauty and light.

Some of the close-ups are astonishing: the two-page spread of a merganser in *The Island* (pp. 26-27) shows clearly the serrated edge of the bill, and the water billowing up against the bird's neck as it manoeuvres slowly, bathed in a warm light which sets it off against the dark background. In the same book there is a striking shot of a gull stealing an egg from a cormorant's nest, with the cormorant out of focus in the background, seemingly unaware of the crime which the photographer has witnessed.

The two books are set up similarly. They lead us section by section through the varied environments: *The Island* explores life at the ocean's edge, in the lush forest, and in the high alpine; *The Wild Prairie* examines 'grasslands, wetlands, and riverlands'. Both have a competent,

clearly written text to accompany the photographs, providing a brief and informative introduction to habitat and behaviour of wildlife and plants.

Nearly every photograph is captioned, and at times this seems to be overdone; for instance the arresting two-page spread of a heron winging over a marsh and silhouetted against a prairie sunset is accompanied by a caption that says 'Winging over a marsh, a great blue heron is silhouetted against the prairie sunset'. Such strong, graphic images almost suffer from the urge to explain, and would serve best as exclamation marks in an otherwise interesting and informative blend of photos and commentary. But it is above all the photographs for which one will return time and time again to these beautiful books. Fitzharris presents us with a body of images that are unusual and memorable, and establishes himself in the front ranks of wildlife photographers.

Patrick McCloskey is a multi-image producer, working in Calgary.

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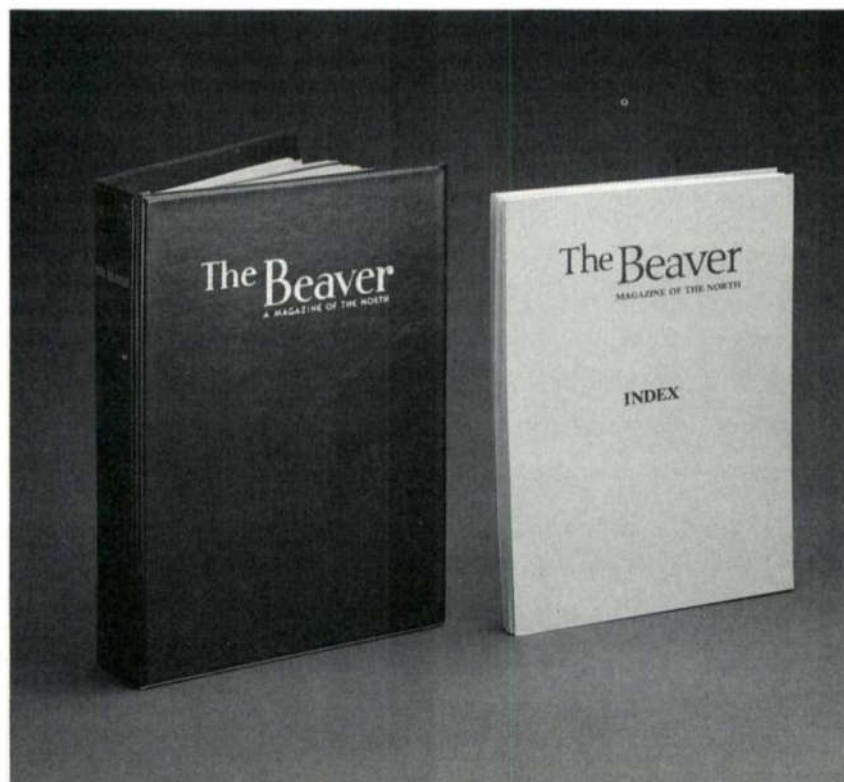
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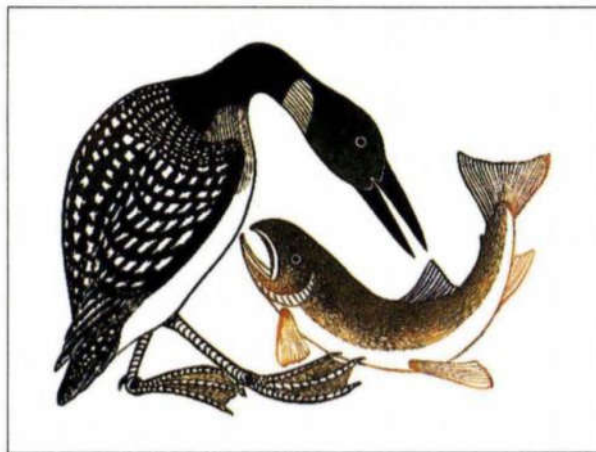
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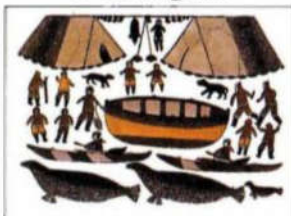
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